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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

This issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* completes the initial year of my tenure as editor. Perhaps some comments about the changes instituted are in order. Our goal was to make the *Magazine* more legible, more aesthetically pleasing, and at the same time more economical to print. Every alteration of the previous format was to effect those gains. We changed the typeface, with more leading between the lines, both to obtain a more vigorous page of type and to acquire several additional lines per page. We switched to a white paper because it is cheaper and because the contrast with the black ink improves readability. The footnotes with the numbers not raised and in a larger size are also easier to read. The cover, in an unchanging blue with an easily recognized logo, fits our three purposes: the *Magazine* is quickly identified, the effect is pleasing to the eye, and the single color with neither photographs nor abbreviated table of contents is substantially less expensive. We have eliminated all but the most essential illustrations. In numerous less apparent ways we have changed the *Magazine*—note the titles, the makeup of the end pages, the omission of a separate contributors' page. In each case the goal was to enable us to get the most readable magazine at the lowest cost. In making these changes I received incalculable assistance from C. William Schneidereith, Sr., the Society's consultant on printing, and from Norman Och, E. Magruder Passano, Jr., and Phyllis Stevens of Waverly Press. Together we have worked to achieve our aim.

Because of the Maryland Historical Society's financial problems, we have—we hope only temporarily—had to cut back the *Magazine* still further. Since the *Magazine* is one of the very few actual benefits all members receive, especially those unable to avail themselves of the Society's collections and programs, we recognize our obligation to maintain a readable historical quarterly of the highest quality. We are trying to enlarge our circulation; we solicit grants of money to help us publish specific issues; and we hope to attract unrestricted contributions simply to enable us to improve Maryland's oldest, most prestigious, and most important historical magazine. Each issue costs approximately $6000; a special issue, with additional pages and significant illustrative material, is correspondingly more. Since the bicentennial is a season of extraordinary interest in history, we want the *Magazine* to reflect the increase in historical attention. We must maintain our tradition as the forum for presenting the newest research on our past, and we are continually striving to present that essential research in the most readable, attractive format. We solicit your support for an important adjunct to historical scholarship and reading in Maryland.

JOHN B. BOLES

From Backcountry to County: The Delayed Settlement of Western Maryland

FRANK W. PORTER III

IN HIS *History of Western Maryland* JOHN THOMAS SCHARF FORMALLY RECOGNIZED Maryland's western counties as a distinct entity. Although his encyclopedic study encompassed every aspect of the region's history, it was not interpretative and consequently left many questions unanswered. This article seeks to explain two vital facets of western Maryland's history. First, what motives prompted Lord Baltimore's proclamation of 1732, opening Maryland's backcountry for settlement; and second, what reasons delayed immediate occupation of the region and its effective incorporation into the colony's administrative system until 1748.[1]

During the early decades of the eighteenth century economic and political conditions in Maryland militated against any westward movement. With the transportation requirements of the tobacco economy clearly in mind, the inhabitants of Maryland had established a settlement pattern concentrated along the coastal plain, with minimal inland movement. To stimulate inhabitation of the backcountry, Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore and Proprietor of Maryland, proclaimed western Maryland open for settlement in 1732. This effort proved entirely unsuccessful because of numerous internal impediments. Border disputes of the 1730s and 1740s, the possibility of Indian raids on the frontier, the holding of warrants to large tracts of western land issued by the Land Office, and the impact of environmental misconceptions concerning western Maryland, all combined to delay the region's growth.

Prior to Lord Baltimore's proclamation, the prospect of exploiting mineral

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Mr. Frank W. Porter, III, is a graduate student in geography at the University of Maryland, College Park. He would like to thank Dr. Ronald Hoffman, Dr. Robert D. Mitchell, and Dr. Carville V. Earle for sharing their insights and knowledge of the history of colonial Maryland. James D. Reuter and Charles Murphy also provided valuable assistance.

1. Various aspects of western Maryland's history are dealt with in the following works: Wayland F. Dunaway, "Pennsylvania as an Early Distributing Center of Population," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 55 (1931): 134–69 (hereafter cited as *PMHB*); Daniel W. Nead, *The Pennsylvania-Germans in the Settlement of Maryland* (Lancaster, 1914); Edward T. Schultz, *First Settlements of Germans in Maryland* (Frederick, 1896); Wilbur A. Jones, "Land Grants Under the Proprietary Government in Maryland, 1633-1775," (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1937); Carl D. Bell, "The Development of western Maryland, 1715-1753," (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1948). The standard references remain John Thomas Scharf, *The History of Western Maryland*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1882); Clarence P. Gould, "The Land System in Maryland, 1720–1765," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 31 (1913); *idem*, "Money and Transportation in Maryland, 1720-1765," *ibid.*, 33 (1915); and Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940).

deposits near the mouth of the Susquehanna River stimulated the initial interest of Maryland's officials in western land. Prompted by such considerations, Philemon Lloyd, Secretary of the Province of Maryland and Judge of the Land Office, urged Lord Baltimore in 1722 to secure the land bordering the Susquehanna River. Proceeding with this matter Lloyd sent his personal surveyors to ascertain the boundaries of a ten-thousand-acre reserve he had recently acquired which encompassed a considerable portion of the known mineral deposits. Although Lloyd's surveyors were promptly arrested by Pennsylvania authorities and jailed in Philadelphia, he decided to continue the survey with "all Imaginable secrecy."[2] This action precipitated a border controversy which had far-reaching consequences on the future settlement of western Maryland. The crucial question concerned whether the mines were located north or south of the 40°N latitude. Despite Lloyd's agreement to an independent survey, he admitted confidentially to Lord Baltimore that there was "little Probability of the mines falling on this side of the Line of 40."[3] To strengthen Maryland's claim he suggested that Lord Baltimore allow people to settle in the disputed area as tenants of Maryland and thus deter further encroachments by Pennsylvania. Lloyd reasoned that should action be taken against these people and the dispute evolve into legal proceedings, which seemed likely since Lord Baltimore was preparing a lawsuit against Pennsylvania, Maryland would have the distinct advantage since it would be her inhabitants who were suffering. Lord Baltimore readily agreed and directed his brother Benedict, the colony's governor, "to Spare no costs in this affair."[4]

Although Lord Baltimore and Lloyd realized that the location of Maryland's northern border would determine whether the colony could successfully acquire possession of the land bordering the Susquehanna River, more was involved for Lloyd than simply the ore deposits. He envisioned the future settlement of western Maryland and had formulated a plan to populate the area, foreshadowing what would transpire nearly a decade later. He recognized that without the encouragement of cheap land, people would not venture beyond the western bank of the Monocacy River.[5] With lesser enticements, they would occupy the eastern side of the Monocacy and from there continue north towards Pennsylvania. In addition to the inducements visualized by Lloyd, an even stronger stimulus would direct settlement northward. At the heads of the Patapsco, Gunpowder,

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2. Philemon Lloyd to Lord Baltimore & Co-Partners, July 19, 1722, "Calvert Papers, Number Two." *Fund Publication*, No. 34 (Baltimore, 1894), p. 27. Hereafter cited as *Calvert Papers*. Also Philemon Lloyd to Lord Baltimore, November 4, 1723, Dulany Papers (MS. 1265), Maryland Historical Society.
3. Philemon Lloyd to Co-Partners, July 28, 1722, *Calvert Papers*, p. 41. Earlier, Lloyd had considered Pennsylvania's claims "meer Chameras, which as ye Grosser Particles in ye Air are born away by ye Winds, will Vanish as Soon as Exposed to ye Light . . . . " (Lloyd to Lord Baltimore, February 18, 1721, Dulany Papers). Also, Lloyd had proposed previously to Lord Baltimore that "for the more Expeditious Planting and Improving the Remoter Parts of [the] Province . . . Some Encouragement be given unto our People, for Preventing the Mischiefs of our Incroaching Neighbors . . . . " (Lloyd to Lord Baltimore, July 3, 1721, Dulany Papers). For further details see Lloyd to Co-Partners, July 19, 1722, *Calvert Papers*, p. 27; and Lloyd to Co-Partners, July 28, 1722, *Calvert Papers*, p. 39.
4. Draft of a Letter from Charles, Lord Baltimore, to Philemon Lloyd, n.d. *Calvert Papers*, pp. 28-29.
5. Philemon Lloyd to Co-Partners, October 8, 1722, *Calvert Papers*, p. 58.

and Bush River, and from there to the Monocacy, there lay a "Vast Body of Barrens," a treeless area presumed to be sterile, which, Lloyd contended, would prevent settlers from moving directly west. This further necessitated securing ownership of the land adjacent to the Susquehanna River, because "it would in a few years, bring on the Planting of that other Vast Body of Rich Lands" on the western side of the barrens.[6]

If Maryland's backcountry were made available with liberal terms of ownership, Lloyd anticipated that settlers would "flock" in from Europe. A tremendous influx of immigrants from Europe, especially Germany, did occur during the late 1720s; however, Pennsylvania rather than Maryland was their initial destination. Between 1727 and 1748 approximately 20,000 people arrived in Philadelphia. The continued increase in population forced Pennsylvania Governor Patrick Gordon in 1728 to seek legal measures against "those Crowds of Forreigners who are yearly pour'd in upon us." His actions did not derive from any "Dislike to the people themselves, many of whom... are peaceable, industrious & well affected," but seemed "principally intended to prevent an English Plantation from being turned into a Colony of aliens."[7] This movement of Europeans had become so great in number that by 1730, a generation after the first settlers arrived, some evidence of the soil losing its fertility could be discerned. Many residents of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, complained of poor yields, and the Pennsylvania Assembly observed that practically all of eastern Pennsylvania was occupied.[8]

By 1730 settlers in Pennsylvania contemplating a move further west were confronted with two alternatives: they could move either to the land west of the Susquehanna River which was inhabited by the Five Nations of Iroquois, or to the area directly south which was claimed by the province of Maryland. Both choices held unforeseen dangers. The Indians on the Pennsylvania frontier vigorously opposed any westward thrust. Captain Civility, an Indian chief, having overheard that the "Dutch" were going to settle on the Susquehanna and that Indian lands were being surveyed to be sold to the Germans, cautioned Governor Gordon that his tribe was troubled and uneasy for fear this would destroy their hunting grounds.[9]

The other choice for these settlers was Maryland, a province more than willing

6. *Ibid.*

7. Speech of Governor Patrick Gordon, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1840), 3:362. Hereafter cited as *Minutes of Provincial Council*. Figures are calculated from I. Daniel Rupp, *A Collection of Upwards of Thirty Thousand Names of German, Swiss, Dutch, French and other Immigrants in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1927); and Ralph B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers; A Publication of the Original Lists of Arrivals in the Port of Philadelphia from 1727 to 1808*. Ed. William J. Hinke. (Norristown, Pa., 1934).

8. Stevenson Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840* (Harrisburg, 1950), p. 124; and *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1731), pp. 75-76. For an extended treatment of this particular aspect see James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country* (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 39-41, 42-70; Lewis Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), 1:87-92; and John Florin, "The Advance of Frontier Settlement in Pennsylvania, 1638-1850: A Geographic Interpretation," (M.A. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1966).

9. Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series (Philadelphia, 1852), 1:271; and *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 3:178.

to receive them. Under the auspices of the Annapolis government, Germans from Pennsylvania were encouraged to locate in the contested area bordering the Susquehanna River, although the Pennsylvania and Maryland authorities had failed to reach an agreement over their mutual boundary. Lord Baltimore, however, made explicitly clear his intention of protecting the Germans. "If they Make application to his Lordship's government," he promised, "they shall find good conditions according to the conditions granted to all comers into this province which I promise shall be made good unto them, and that they shall have protection in their Lives, Liberties, and estates which they shall bring with them."[10] Unaware of the political motives behind Maryland's apparent willingness to receive them, these immigrants soon found themselves in the midst of an intense border dispute. Caught in the conflict, they had no idea to whom they should pay their taxes, and in many instances, they simply did not pay either government.[11] As conditions deteriorated, they turned to the Pennsylvania authorities explaining that they had settled west of the Susquehanna River, thinking the land belonged to Maryland. Having previously made their precarious situation known to Maryland's officials, they had received no redress; instead, they were told that they were "worse than Negroes, since they had no master and were not under the protection of any laws."[12] Because of their predicament, the Germans sought only forgiveness and pledged their allegiance to Pennsylvania.[13]

During the 1730s the situation became hopelessly confused, while the lingering quarrel greatly retarded settlement in western Maryland. From the beginning of the boundary controversy the Calvert family had defended diligently their claim to the 40°N latitude. Suddenly in 1732 a temporary and ultimately unsuccessful agreement was reached when the Penns succeeded in obtaining what one historian called an "unaccountable and unmanly" concession from Charles Calvert.[14] Why, after seventy-two years of Maryland's adamantly claiming the disputed fortieth degree as the boundary, did the current proprietor cede his territory? In part, this occurred because of a rapid succession of men holding the reins of government in Maryland. Benedict Leonard Calvert, the proprietor's uncle and governor of Maryland, resigned his post in 1731 and died shortly thereafter. His successor, Samuel Ogle, acted as governor until the summer of 1732, when Charles Calvert decided to visit the province and assume personal control of the Annapolis government. Anxious to end the boundary dispute, Charles hastily entered into a written compact with the sons of William Penn, but soon renounced the entire agreement. He claimed that during the negotiations the Penns used as a basis for discussion a forged map which placed Cape Henlopen twenty miles to the south of its actual location. Basing his decision on this map, Charles relinquished the area north of the 39°N latitude and the whole of Delaware. He quickly appealed the agreement in court, but the judge

10. Samuel Hazard, ed., *The Register of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1828-1835), 4:64.
11. Walter B. Scaife, "The Boundary Dispute Between Maryland and Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, 9 (1885): 257.
12. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 4:64.
13. *Ibid.*
14. George W. Archer, *The Dismemberment of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1890), pp. 101-102.

ultimately decided that since Maryland's proprietor "had accepted it once, he must abide by it."[15]

Neither the proprietor's agreement nor the court's decision were in accord with sentiments prevalent in Annapolis. In a message to the king, the governor and both houses of the Maryland Assembly joined in protesting the written compact. "The Truth is," they exclaimed, "the Government of Pennsylvania ever despairing to justify their frequent Incroachments by a Denial thereof have indeavored from time to time to insinuate that some limit was set by Lord Baltimore to himself."[16] Until a definite and fair boundary could be determined, they requested his Majesty "to prohibit any person from Settling and incroaching . . . to the northward or Southward of the respective Settlements in each Province. . . ."[17]

The governor of Pennsylvania viewed the affair differently and admonished Lord Baltimore for his failure to adhere to their recent agreement. "It is certainly astonishing," he remarked, "that Maryland should now make the least Claim or Pretence to any of those Lands that have of late been with such Violence invaded. . . . An armed force of about three hundred Men was sent up by your Governor in an hostile Manner, with Beat of Drum & Sound of Trumpet to awe those poor People into a Complyance with his Designs, & to terrify his Majesty's Subjects in that part of the Country."[18] The Annapolis government's response was to initiate more terrorism to prevent further settlement in the contested region. Thomas Cresap, a particularly cruel and violent man, led several raiding parties into the area.[19] His actions persuaded new settlers not to enter Maryland and prompted the "removing of great Numbers from their Settlements."[20] Maryland's interest in her western lands was temporarily lost in the melee surrounding its northern border.

During the intense years of the Pennsylvania-Maryland border controversy, Virginia's governor, William Gooch, willingly granted the harassed settlers from Pennsylvania land in his colony's backcountry. Through a variety of techniques,

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15. *Ibid.*, p. 104. See also Nicholas B. Wainright, "The Missing Evidence: Penn v. Baltimore," *PMHB*, 70 (April 1956): 227-35; Charles Tansill, *The Pennsylvania-Maryland Boundary Controversy* (Washington, 1915); Walter A. Powell, "Fight of a Century Between the Penns and Calverts," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 29 (June 1934): 100, (hereafter cited as *MHM*); Edward B. Mathews, "History of the Boundary Dispute Between the Baltimores and Penns Resulting in the Original Mason and Dixon Line," *Maryland Geological Survey*, 7 (*1908*): 105–203; J. Dunlap, "A Memoir on the Controversy Between William Penn and Lord Baltimore," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 1 (1864): 163-204; "Papers Relating to the Boundary Dispute Between Pennsylvania and Maryland, 1734-1760," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 7:319-425; and "The Breviate: In The Boundary Dispute Between Pennsylvania and Maryland," *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series (Harrisburg, 1891), 16: 1-790.

16. *Archives of Maryland*, ed. William H. Browne et al., 68 vols. (Baltimore, 1883–), 19: 110. Hereafter referred to as *Maryland Archives*.

17. *Maryland Archives*, 28: 145.

18. *Minutes of Provincial Council*, 4: 122, 163–64; and 3: 566.

19. Lawrence C. Wroth, "The Story of Thomas Cresap: A Maryland Pioneer," *MHM*, 9 (March 1914); 1-37; and Kenneth P. Bailey, *Thomas Cresap: Maryland Frontiersman* (Boston, 1944). On one occasion Cresap was depicted as "a Rattle Snake Colonel, and a Vile Rascal who calls himself a Frontier man . . . . " (Winthrop Sargent, *The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755; under Major-General Edward Braddock* [Philadelphia, 1855], p. 372).

20. *Maryland Archives*, 28: 114.

Gooch promoted a migration of people from the northern colonies, and upon their settlement, quickly created governmental structures to serve them. Gooch's reasons for directing this movement to Virginia were entirely political. The land sought was claimed by Thomas Lord Fairfax under the conditions stipulated in his Northern Neck charter. A bitter legal dispute ensued between Gooch and Fairfax, each contesting ownership of the territory.[21]

The boundary dispute involving Virginia's western lands provided the political framework within which Lord Baltimore opened his backcountry for settlement. The movement of immigrants across Maryland was carefully observed in Annapolis, since Gooch's boundary claims involved not only Lord Fairfax, but Lord Baltimore and the sons of William Penn. The Penn family did not pursue the issue energetically; however, Lord Baltimore employed methods similar to Gooch's to support his backcountry claims.[22] Governor Ogle wrote to the Maryland proprietor in 1731 that "the Pens encroaching so much upon you as I am informed has encouraged the Virginians . . . to make some attempts of the like nature; and some of your Land about the upper part of Potowmack is Likewise in some danger."[23] Ogle promised to look into the matter, but in 1732 Lord Baltimore personally dealt with the situation. Hoping to entice some of these people to Maryland, despite the maltreatment previously accorded them by Lloyd and other Maryland officials, he issued a proclamation opening the backcountry for settlement. Lord Baltimore, the proclamation announced, "being desirous to Increase the Number of Honest People within . . . Maryland and willing to give Suitable Encouragement," offered 200 acres of land in fee, subject to a quitrent of four shillings sterling per year, payable at the end of three years, for every 100 acres, to any person having a family who would within three years actually settle on the land between the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers. To each single person between the ages of fifteen and thirty, he offered 100 acres.[24]

Unfortunately for Lord Baltimore several impediments existed which hindered the settlement of the backcountry. The prevailing pattern of Maryland's commercial activities diminished the possibility of the inward movement of people in 1732. Tobacco was the colony's basic staple and every level of society felt its influence. Slaves and servants were responsible for its cultivation; the planters invested their fortunes in its production; and many proprietary officers received their salaries in tobacco.[25] Tobacco served also as a financial means of exchange. George Alsop considered tobacco "the current Coyn" of Maryland, which would "sooner purchase Commodities from the Merchant, then Money."[26] There were many critical and often biased observers who deplored the problems

21. For a detailed analysis of Gooch's role in Virginia's westward expansion, see Frank W. Porter III, "Expanding the Domain: William Gooch and the Northern Neck Boundary Dispute," *Maryland Historian*, 5 (Spring 1974): 1-13. A map depicting the claims of the various colonies is provided.
22. Frank W. Porter III, "From Back Country to County: The Role of Economics and Politics in the Settlement of Western Maryland," (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1973), discusses the three colonies' claims to the western land and also the political manipulations involved in resolving them.
23. Samuel Ogle to Lord Baltimore, January 10, 1731, *Calvert Papers*, p. 84.
24. *Maryland Archives*, 28: 25.
25. Barker, *Background of the Revolution in Maryland*, p. 69; and Vertrees J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 18, 60, 129.
26. George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Maryland* (New York, 1869), pp. 68-69.

caused by tobacco. Patrick Falconer, a seventeenth-century traveler, recorded that "Maryland . . . is a good Country, but is poissessed with Debauched, Idle, Lasy People, all that they Labour for is only as much Tobacco as may furnish them with Cloaths."[27] Robert Beverley similarly observed that Maryland's settlers depended "upon the Liberality of Nature, without endeavoring to improve its Gifts by Art or Industry. They spunge upon the Blessings of a warm Sun, and a fruitful Soil, and almost Grutch the Pains of gathering in the Bounties of the Earth."[28] Both Assembly members and proprietary officers actively supported measures to encourage a more diversified agricultural system. But the focus on growing tobacco, to the exclusion at times of even basic foodstuffs, continued unabated—so much so that complaints on this issue often echoed in the legislature.[29] In 1732 the Lower House declared that "Tobacco . . . the only Staple of this Province and the produce of that Commodity the only Dependence the People have of getting Common Necessarys . . . has been far from being sufficient to furnish People with Cloathing even of the Coarsest sort."[30] Similarly, Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert remarked forcefully: "Tobacco, as our Staple, is our all, and indeed leaves no room for anything else."[31]

From the outset this dependence on tobacco created severe economic problems. Because Tidewater planters raised an unrestricted amount of tobacco, the English market was glutted periodically, with falling prices the inevitable result. But the economic depressions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were never acute enough to force the planters to lessen substantially their production levels.[32]

Essential to any inland community hoping to grow tobacco profitably was a suitable transportation network. Because of the vast number of creeks and small rivers winding through Maryland like "veins in human bodies," roads failed to develop in a regular or systematic pattern. Bypassing swamps, wooded areas, and streams, they formed a maze in the forest.[33] Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis realized astutely that tobacco could be grown profitably only in the Tidewater region because "the many Creeks, Coves and Branches thereof affords Carriage Commodians and Easie for Tobacco the Staple of this province and Virginia so

27. Patrick Falconer to Maurice Trent, 1684, contained in Bernard C. Steiner, "Descriptions of Maryland," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science;* 22 (Baltimore, 1904), p. 31.

28. Robert Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1705), Part IV, p. 83.

29. *Maryland Archives*, 33: 398, 578; and *ibid.*, 34:604.

30. *Ibid.*, 37: 267.

31. *Ibid.*, 25: 602-603.

32. Lewis C. Gray, "The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco," *Agricultural History*, 2 (January 1928): 1-34; *idem*, "The Market Surplus Problem of Colonial Tobacco," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd. ser., 7 (October 1927): 231-45; *ibid.*, 8 (January 1928): 1-16; Aubrey C. Land, "The Tobacco Staple and the Planter's Problems: Technology, Labor and Crops," *Agricultural History*, 43 (January 1969): 69-81; Edward C. Papenfuse, "Planter Behavior and Economic Opportunity in a Staple Economy," *Agricultural History*, 46 (April 1972): 297-312; and Carville V. Earle, "The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1974).

33. Reverend Hugh Jones to Benjamin Woodroof, January 23, 1699, Royal Society MS, Guardbook, British Transcripts in the Library of Congress. Also Gould, "Money and Transportation"; and St. George L. Sioussant, "Highway Legislation in Maryland, and its Influence on the Economic Development of the State," *Maryland Geological Survey*, 3 (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 107-86.

far as the Tides make which is Commonly to the Falls of the great Rivers Coming from the mountains to the Westward and Northwest. . . ."[34] The fact that none of the major rivers had navigable outlets from the inland to the Chesapeake Bay hindered the production of tobacco in western Maryland. As Clarence P. Gould significantly pointed out: "The transportation of tobacco from the Monocacy to the Patapsco was such a difficult task that it is safe to conclude that no tobacco was ever so transported."[35]

Horatio Sharpe, a later colonial Maryland governor, asserted that the quitrent had retarded Maryland's efforts to develop its western land because the quitrent demanded by Maryland authorities was far in excess of that prevalent in Pennsylvania and Virginia.[36] Beverly W. Bond in his study of the quitrent system focused on the disparity in financial terms between the three colonies. Although the initial purchase fee was higher in Pennsylvania than in Maryland, it was paid only once, while the quitrent was lower and there was no clergy tax. Thus including all charges the annual rate in Maryland was 5s. 9d. per 100 acres in excess of that in Pennsylvania. In Virginia on the other hand there was no clergy tax, the purchase fee was less, and the quitrent was only half the normal rate in Maryland.[37] Although a small number of settlers on their way to Virginia remained in the vicinity of the Monocacy River, the majority continued on to Virginia where the conditions were even more promising.[38]

Another factor which further impeded the movement of people into western Maryland was the presence of land without the usual forest cover, commonly called the "Maryland Barrens." One of the most striking features of the physical environment, the Maryland barrens discouraged greatly the inhabiting of the territory directly behind Baltimore County and later the land along the Monocacy River.[39] Early impressions of western Maryland, Pennsylvania, and even Virginia were influenced by the existence of vast land areas referred to as the "Barrens." Although some men viewed the barrens positively,[40] others

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34. Charles Carroll of Annapolis to his son, Charles, February 2, 1753, "Extracts from Account and Letterbook of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," *MHM*, 25 (March 1930): 62.

35. Gould, "Money and Transportation," pp. 72-73.

36. *Maryland Archives*, 6:37.

37. Beverly W. Bond, *The Quit-rent System in the American Colonies* (New Haven, 1919), pp. 219-53; and *idem*, "The Quit-rent in Maryland," *MHM* 5 (December 1910): 362-63. "I am persuaded that I can get a number of people from Pennsylvania to settle on Shenandore . . . for ye northern men are fond of buying land there, because they can buy it, for six or seven pounds pr. hundred acres, cheaper than they can take up land in Pensilvania" (William Beverley to [?], April 30, 1732, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, and other Manuscripts*, ed. William P. Palmer et al., 11 vols. [Richmond, 1875-1893], 1:217-18).

38. Edward T. Schultz, *The First Settlements of Germans in Maryland* (Frederick, 1896); Herrman Schuricht, *History of the German Element in Virginia* (Baltimore, 1899-1900); Bond, *Quit-rent System in American Colonies*, pp. 198-99; and *idem*, "Quit-rent in Maryland," p. 363.

39. William B. Marye, "The Great Maryland Barrens," *MHM*, 50 (March 1955): 11-23; *ibid.*, 50 (June 1955): 120-42; and *ibid.*, 50 (September 1955): 234-53.

40. Pennsylvania, like Maryland, contained several treeless areas, and these were actively sought after if the land was found to be fertile. For example, Thomas Pascall, a Quaker from Philadelphia, wrote: "I know a man . . . that happened upon a Piece of Land . . . that is all cleare, without Tree, Bushes, Stumps, that may be plowed without let, the farther a man goes in the country the more such Land they find" (cited in Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania* [Chicago, 1907], p. 20). See also Stevenson W. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640-1840*

considered them a desolate, harsh, and unfertile region—an area not conducive to commercial agriculture. Philemon Lloyd informed Lord Baltimore that after "having traveled over chiefly Barren & Stoney Grounds," he had made a trip "into the Barren Mountains on the West Side of Susquehanna, & had Spent three days longer in those woods & Among these Barren Hills which afford no manner of Sustenance—except for Berrys."[41] Joshua Hempstead, in his diary, also described the harshness of this region by noting the "uneven & Rocky" features of the land.[42] Philemon Lloyd and Charles Carroll of Annapolis believed, however, that the land was not called the barrens on account of the poverty of the soil, but because early settlers found no timber upon it.[43] Despite the probability that the barrens were simply a large area burned over by Indians in pursuit of game, the stigma of sterility remained.[44]

The many land deeds, wills, and letters which refer to this region are also suggestive of the barren's impact on the settlement process. Josiah Cole, a member of the Society of Friends and an associate of George Fox, visited America in 1658 and traveled among the Indians living in Maryland. Cole intended to found a colony in Maryland, and was authorized by Fox to purchase land from the Susquehanna Indians. But in 1660 Cole wrote to Fox: "As concerning Friends buying a piece of land of the Susquehanna Indians, I have spoken of it to them and told them what thou said concerning it; but their answer was, that there is no land that is habitable or fit for situation beyond Baltimore's Liberty till they come to or near the Susquehanna Fort."[45] Much later, Charles Carroll of Annapolis remarked: "about thirty Miles from Navigable Water is a Range of barren dry Land without Timber about nine miles wide which keeps a Course about North East and South West parallel with the mountains thro this province, Virginia and Pennsilvania but between that and the mountains the lands mend and are very good in Several parts."[46] Philemon Lloyd similarly observed: "Lands next above our settlements upon the West side of the Susquehanna, and all along upon the West Side of Baltimore County are Cutt off and Separated from the Present Inhabited parts by large Barrens, many miles over."[47] Even those few who ventured to settle in western Maryland during the late 1730s and early 1740s had to reckon with the barrens. The Reverend Michael Schlatter, a Reformed clergyman and missionary, remarked that some people were forced to locate near the Conoogocheague because there they found good timber for building and other

(Harrisburg, 1950), pp. 4, 153. One manner of testing the soil's fertility was to "dig a hole of any reasonable dimensions and depth. If the earth which was taken out when thrown lightly back into it, does not fill up the hole the soil is fruitful; but if it more than fills it up the soil is barren" (Joseph Doddridge, *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia & Pennsylvania* [Wellsburgh, Va., 1824], p. 106).

41. Philemon Lloyd to Charles Calvert, September 10, 1722, Dulany Papers.

42. Joshua Hempstead, *Diary of Joshua Hempstead* (New London, 1901), pp. 522-23.

43. Marye, "Great Maryland Barrens," p. 17.

44. Hu Maxwell, "The Use and Abuse of Forests by the Virginia Indians," *William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 19 (October 1910): 73-104; Samuel Kercheval, *History of Valley of Virginia* (Winchester, 1833), pp. 44, 256; and Marye, "Great Maryland Barrens," 139-42.

45. James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America*, 2 vols. (London, 1854), 1: 348-53.

46. "Extracts from Account and Letterbook of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," *MHM*, 25 (March 1930): 64.

47. Philemon Lloyd to Co-Partners, October 8, 1722, *Calvert Papers*, p. 57.

uses, while the rest of the valley was destitute of timber, and only covered with "scrub-oak" and "hazle-bushes."[48]

The contemporary practice by land speculators of holding large warrants for western lands until their value increased also hindered settlement. The quitrent frustrated or made prohibitive speculation in land but not in warrants. By taking out a warrant an individual held the exclusive right to have the specified area surveyed. He could hold on to this privilege or have the tract surveyed but not patented. In each instance the speculator maintained possession of the land without paying the quitrent. Frequent complaints were voiced concerning these warrants. The Lower House of the Assembly promptly responded by investigating the methods employed in reserving lands or warrants without issuing patents. Daniel Dulany, a member of the investigation committee, considered this practice a great obstruction to the settlement of the back parts of the Province, one which had prevented "Great Quantities of Lord Baltimore's back Waste Lands (now of no Use or Advantage to Him) from being taken up and paid for." Many of the inhabitants who would willingly have settled in such locations had been deterred from doing so "for fear of Engaging in Disputes with the Proprietors of the Said Warrants." Instead, they had chosen to reside in Virginia and elsewhere rather than involve themselves in "Disputes of which they could not hope Easily to see an End."[49] Dulany cited the earlier actions of Philemon Lloyd as illustrative of this problem. Lloyd had patented lands between Dorchester County and the Susquehanna River for both his and the Proprietor's use. As a result, explained Dulany, "Several People turned Tenants to the Government of Pensilvania."[50] Dulany also reported that because of a warrant to one John Diggs for "all the Vacant Land on Monocacy and its Branches as well as the Branches of Susquehanna. . . . Several People went over to Virginia that would have Settled in Maryland."[51]

The Indian threat posed an additional menace to settlement. Lord Baltimore's proclamation and the movement of people into Virginia elicited an immediate response from the Indians. Considering the land in and about the upper Potomac as theirs, the Indian chief, Captain Civility, wrote Governor Ogle of Maryland that he was "sorry to hear as Maryland should deprive us of the Spot of Land as we have held hitherto for I certainly did hear as their Intention is to take it from Us if Possible but I hear You intend to come and run Land out above Andahetem, and I heartily desire you not to do it for you have already run Land out at Cohungaruton [upper branch of the Potomac River] and put your family to live there which we are very disturbed and I would have you not to press too much upon us for We have given no body Land."[52] Although Captain Civility expressed particular concern about the Virginia settlers, the Annapolis officials were the recipients of his warning. The proprietary officers replied that they would take all necessary precautions to maintain peace.

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48. Henry Harbough, *The Life of Reverend Michael Schlatter* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 172.
49. *Maryland Archives*, 37: 481; and Gould, "Land System in Maryland," pp. 18-19.
50. *Maryland Archives*, 37: 507-508.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 506.
52. Samuel Hazard, ed., *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1838-56), 3: 178; and *Maryland Archives*, 28: 10-11.

The Indian situation in Maryland during the 1730s was unique in that there were no sedentary tribes within the colony proper. Even in Virginia there were no resident Indians except for a small band at Shawnee Springs.[53] The fears and apprehensions expressed by white settlers related to foraging expeditions by tribes from the north and northeast. Governor Gooch of Virginia frequently received communications from the frontier requesting protection from the northern tribes.[54] Among the papers of the Cabell family of Virginia is a letter which tells of "two Men two Women & two children that was Carried off Prisoners by the norward [sic] Indians." The letter also reveals information about some the area's "utmost Inhabitants" who were warned off their land by the northern Indians.[55] In Maryland many evinced deep concern about France's "openly avowed" policy of provoking Indian attacks against them, and vigorously implored that garrisons be built to provide security and prohibit the Indians' use of their pathways.[56]

The Europeans' encroachment on Indian land motivated the Indian disturbances. Maryland's Governor Thomas Bladen considered land "the wedge which ultimately separated the European and the Indian."[57] Further disorder on the frontier resulted from the acts of French agents who frequently incited the northern tribes, especially the Iroquois, by "inflaming" their minds with rum and reflections of the days before the white man's arrival. James Logan, the Secretary of Pennsylvania, observed that the backcountry inhabitants were not the only object of the French efforts. In his opinion, many Indian raids were instigated because the "French of Canada would have the Five Nations destroy the Southern Indians, and the Southern Indians destroy the Five Nations: the Destruction of all being their Desire. . . ."[58] The French also were continually stirring up the Five Nations against the English. They urged the Indians that "if they meete with a hogg, kill him; if a Dog, kill him; if an Indian, kill him; if an Englishman, kill him."[59] Of all the tribes the Five Nations of Iroquois represented the greatest threat to the security of the western lands. They carried their arms to the south of Carolina, to the north of New England, and as far west as the Mississippi, "over a vast country . . . where they entirely destroyed many Nations, of whom there were now no Accounts remaining among the English."[60] Daniel Dulany, wary of the Indian threat to the backcountry, contended that two thousand Indians could effectively be brought against the settlers. Although other scoffed at this number, Dulany was the wiser. "However small and Insignificant this number may be looked upon in Populous Countrys," he cautioned, "here where there are but few people and they very much scattered, 2

53. Frederick Morton, *The Story of Winchester in Virginia* (Strasbourg, 1925), p. 39; Walter Stitt Robinson, "Indian Policy of Colonial Virginia," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1950); and *idem*, "Tributary Indians in Colonial Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 67 (1959): 49–64.
54. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 3: 608-609.
55. Miscellaneous Letter, University of Virginia, Alderman Library, Cabell Family Papers.
56. *Maryland Archives*, 28: 66, 144.
57. *Ibid.*, 34: 178.
58. *Minutes of the Provincial Council*, 3: 90.
59. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 1: 67.
60. Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Nations* (London, 1755), pp. 22-23.

or 1000 Indians have these advantages, that neither Rivers, Mountains, Impassable Morasses or the thickest forest are any Impediments to their marching."[61]

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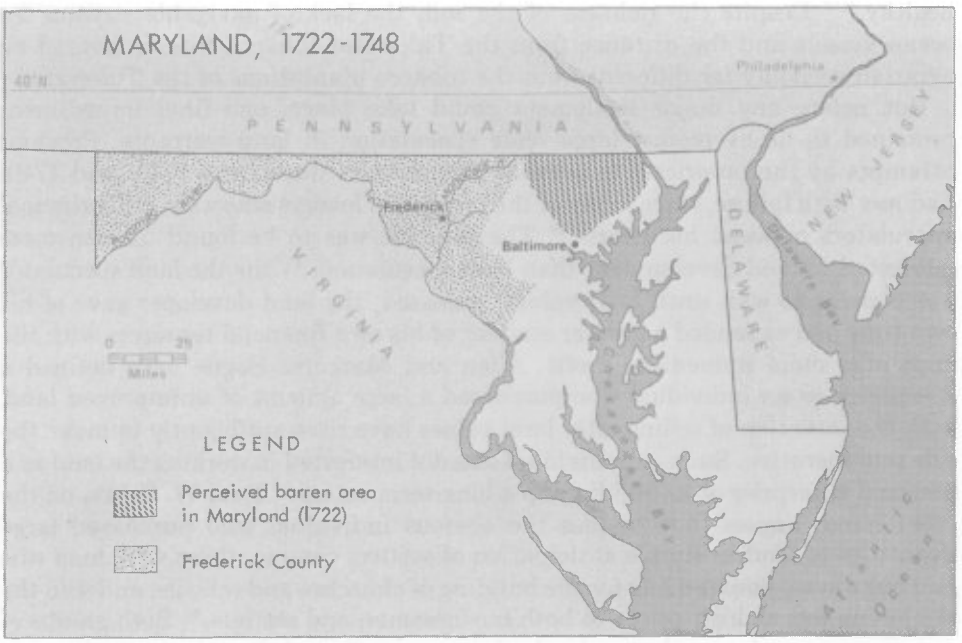
The Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary dispute, the Maryland barrens, land speculation, and the threat of Indian attacks combined to obstruct effectively the development of the back country and prevent its incorporation within the administrative system of Maryland. The situation remained until the colony resolved the impediments to settlement, a process not completed until the mid 1740s. The Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary dispute was the first obstacle overcome. Although the boundary separating the two colonies was not finally determined until 1767 by the Mason-Dixon Line, the king ordered the respective colonial governors in 1738 "upon pain of incurring his Majesty's highest Displeasure," to use their "utmost Endeavors to preserve Peace and Good Order." Neither governor was allowed to make grants in any of the land under dispute. They were, however, "at free liberty to grant out on the common and usual Terms all or any Vacant Lands within the said Provinces of Pennsilvania and Maryland" which were not in the contested areas.[62] Although the permanent border was not established until almost thirty years later, the Crown's directive brought a needed measure of calm to the disputed regions.

A solution to the Indian problem was the next to be found. The Five Nations of Iroquois claimed all the land in Maryland north of a line drawn from Conewaga Falls to the point where the Blue Ridge Mountains cross the Potomac River and from that chain of mountains to the James River. The Indian claims were dubious since they did not bound their countries by lines.[63] Governor Gooch considered their claims to Virginia territory "both Barbarous and Absurd," while Maryland authorities called them "mischievous designs."[64] Nevertheless, Maryland and Pennsylvania soon reported a "dangerous conspiracy" on the part of the Indians to attack them. Virginia and Maryland began preparations for war, while Pennsylvania maintained a less militant attitude.[65] Despite their military precautions, the Annapolis officials in the hope of preventing a violent encounter decided to settle the controversy by paying the Indians for the land, since "nothing less than Blood or Money" would satisfy them. The policy proved

61. Daniel Dulany to Charles, Lord Baltimore, June 11, 1744, *Calvert Papers*, p. 106.
62. *Maryland Archives*, 28: 145, 147; and *The Virginia Gazette*, February 10, 1737.
63. To the detriment of the Indians, Europeans failed to comprehend their concept of land ownership. "Ownership of land within a tribe meant the use and control of a tract of hunting land bounded by natural features such as streams, hills, and mountains. However, the notion of exclusive land ownership, as understood by the white men, seemed to be completely foreign to the Indian mind" (Georgianna Nammack, *Fraud, Politics and the Dispossession of the Indians: The Iroquois Land Frontier in the Colonial Period* [Norman, Okla., 1969], pp. xiv-xv). For an excellent discussion of this topic see Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians," in *17th-Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill, 1959), pp. 15-32.
64. William Gooch to the Board of Trade, n.d., Colonial Office Papers, Class 5, America and West Indies, 1325/5, 35, Public Record Office, London, hereafter cited as PRO CO 5/–); and *Maryland Archives*, 28: 260.
65. *Maryland Archives*, 28: 259; and John C. Hammelef, "British and American Attempts to Co-Ordinate the Defenses of the Continental Colonies to Meet French and Northern Indian Attacks," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959), p. 36.



effective. In 1744 the Annapolis authorities secured an agreement with the Indians of the Five Nations for legal possession of the colony's back country. The chiefs representing the Five Nations relinquished any claim whatsoever to the lands between the Potomac, alias Cohongarouton, and the Susquehanna Rivers. To prevent any further Indian claims, the agreement included a clause declaring that "in case such Limits shall not include the present Inhabitants or Settlers, then such and so many other Line or Lines, Course or Courses . . . to the outermost Inhabitant or Settlement . . . shall be construed the limits intended by these Patents."[66] With news of the Indian treaty, another significant burden was lifted. From Annapolis Daniel Dulany informed Lord Baltimore that this treaty would contribute greatly to the safety of the Province, particularly the back parts.[67]

With the boundary dispute temporarily alleviated and the Indian problem at an end, Dulany made an extensive trip into the backcountry in 1744. His impressions of the region dispelled any previous notion that these were waste or barren areas. In a letter to Lord Baltimore, Dulany praised western Maryland's assets: "I have not been long returned from a journey into the back woods, as far as to the Temporary Line between this province and Pennsylvania, where I had the pleasure of seeing a most delightful Country, a Country My Lord, that Equals (if it does not exceed) any in America for natural advantages, such as rich and fertile soil, well furnished with timber of all sorts, abounding with limestone, and stone fit for building, good slate and some Marble, and to Crown all, very

66. *Maryland Archives*, 28: 334-36; and William Gooch to the Board of Trade, PRO CO 5/1325, 35.
67. Daniel Dulany to Lord Baltimore, June 13, 1744, *Calvert Papers*, p. 107.

healthy."[68] Despite the richness of the soil, the lack of navigable streams for ocean vessels and the distance from the Tidewater tobacco wharfs favored an agrarian economy far different from the tobacco plantations of the Tidewater.

But before any major settlement could take place, one final impediment remained to be overcome: large scale speculation in land warrants. Previous attempts by the proprietor to prevent this practice during the 1730s and 1740s had met with failure, since many of the provincial leaders who were also principal speculators opposed his efforts.[69] The solution was to be found in men more interested in land development than land speculation. While the land speculator was content to wait until land values increased, the land developer gave of his own time and expended a greater amount of his own financial resources with the hope of a more immediate profit. Allen and Margaret Bogue have defined a speculator as an individual who purchased a large amount of unimproved land, with the intention of selling after land values have risen sufficiently to make the sale remunerative. Such an individual was not interested in working the land as a personal enterprise or in building up a long-term estate.[70] Paul W. Gates, on the other hand, argues that besides the obvious individual who purchased large quantities of land in simple anticipation of settlers coming, there were men who laid out towns, donated lots for the building of churches and schools, and sold the remaining lots at high prices to both businessmen and settlers.[71] Both groups of men were speculators, but only the latter contributed directly to settlement. Motivation, then, becomes the crucial question in dealing with land speculation.

The motives of those who invested in western land, though not easily discerned, were a critical factor in the settlement of Maryland's backcountry. Many of these investors did not passively await the arrival of immigrants to increase the value of their holdings. Instead, they offered various attractive inducements, including cheap land, desirable locations, and protection from the Indians to encourage settlement. Although exhibiting mercenary motives, they

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68. Daniel Dulany to Lord Baltimore, November 14, 1744, *Calvert Papers*, p. 116. For a thorough treatment of Daniel Dulany's involvement in the development of western Maryland, see Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1955); and *idem*, "A Land Speculator in the Opening of Western Maryland," *MHM*, 48 (September 1953): 191-203. Although Lloyd, Carroll, and others had previously described this particular region as uninhabitable and devoid of vegetation, it is probable that by 1744 reforestation had removed these attributes. Forested regions grow rapidly, and when cultivated or burnt-over lands were abandoned, the forest returned in a few years. Avery O. Craven in his study of soil exhaustion, noted that "travelers passing through what appeared to be virgin forest were surprised to discover they were crossing what some twenty years earlier had been tobacco fields" ("Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860." *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, 13 [March 1925], p. 27). George Perkins Marsh stated earlier that "whenever a tract of country, once inhabited and cultivated by man, is abandoned by him and by domestic animals, and surrendered to the undisturbed influences of spontaneous nature, its soil sooner or later clothes itself with herbaceous and arborescent plants, and, at no long interval, with a dense forest growth" (*The Earth as Modified by Human Action* [New York, 1877], p. 149). For an expanded treatment of this subject see H. Roy Merrens, *Colonial North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Historical Geography* (Chapel Hill, 1964), pp. 185-93, and Carl O. Sauer, "Geography of the Pennroyal," *Kentucky Geological Survey*, Series 6, 25 (1927), pp. 123-30.

69. Gould, "Land System in Maryland," p. 63.

70. "Profits and the Frontier Land Speculator," *Journal of Economic History*, 17 (1957): 1-24.

71. "The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development," *PMHB*, 66 (July 1942): 315. Robert P. Swierenga, *Pioneers and Profits: Land Speculation on the Iowa Frontier* (Ames, 1968), pp. 3-24, provides a summary of the literature on land speculation.

were more than "mere leeches fattening on the needs of the landless."[72] They facilitated settlement both economically and socially. Men of this nature and quality require a different definition and treatment. The margin of distinction is narrow and at times overlapping, but these men were land developers.

Daniel Dulany embodied the concept of the land developer. Through his initiative to develop and desire to enhance the value of Maryland's western lands, Dulany overcame the barrier placed by previous land speculators. To remedy this problem he pursued a financially dangerous though innovative solution. Upon his return to Annapolis from his western journey Dulany immediately began purchasing western land at so rapid a rate that many of his neighbors feared for his sanity.[73] The tracts he had previously located in were "Williamsborough," located on the Potomac River, and "Dulany's Lott," situated east of the Monocacy River. Now Dulany bought land which lay further inland and to the west of his current holdings. What seemed incomprehensible to his associates was Dulany's acquiring land located several miles from the navigable Potomac River. What benefit he hoped to derive from this seemingly futile venture they knew not, but it was candidly agreed that he would lose not only his mind, but his money as well.[74]

The task Dulany imposed upon himself was considerable, for soon after deciding to invest in western lands, he encountered a familiar problem. In 1744 Benjamin Tasker, a close associate of Dulany's, received information that Virginia settlers, acting under the authority of the Fairfax grant, were encroaching on Maryland territory. "Several People in Virginia under that Right is getting into that part near the Fountain head of Potowmack," he warned Lord Baltimore, "and in time will do as our Northern Neighbors has done unless timely care is taken to prevent them."[75] Fearing this movement of people had been instigated by Lord Fairfax, and suspecting that if their number increased substantially they would appeal to Fairfax, or worse, Virginia for protection, Dulany decided the most effective way to counter any possible encroachment would be to extend the boundaries of Maryland and secure the area by settlement. An old argument again came to light. First, Dulany wrote Lord Baltimore that some doubt prevailed as to the colony's western boundary. "The Potomack River above the Mountains divides into two Large Branches, one called the South and the other the North Branch," he advised the proprietor. "The first is the largest and longest, and (as I am informed) the Main Branch of the River and consequently your Lordship's boundary."[76] With this in mind, he encouraged Lord Baltimore to allow immigrants to locate wherever they pleased in the backcountry, regardless of how distant or remote the area.[77]

The argument embraced by Dulany appears identical to the one adopted by Philemon Lloyd, and the methods used were similar to those of Lloyd and

72. Land, "Land Speculator," p. 191.
73. William Eddis, *Letters From America* (London, 1792), p. 83.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
75. Daniel Dulany to Lord Baltimore, July 16, 1744, *Calvert Papers*, p. 107; and Benjamin Tasker to Lord Baltimore, September 17, 1744, *ibid.*, p. 110.
76. Daniel Dulany to Lord Baltimore, July 21, 1744, Dulany Papers.
77. *Ibid.*

Governor Gooch. To realize his scheme, Dulany first purchased from Benjamin Tasker for £2000 a clear title to "Tasker's Chance," a 7000-acre tract located in the center of the Monocacy Valley. He then divided the tract into farm units ranging from 100 to 300 acres in size.[78] Next Dulany sought, like so many others, settlers from Pennsylvania. Dulany specifically wanted Germans, for they were "the fittest people that can be to Settle a New Country."[79] He believed that western Maryland would never be an important center for production of tobacco, but other crops could be planted profitably. For this he needed the Pennsylvania-Germans who adhered to an agricultural tradition based on grain and forage crops. Many of these Dutch and German farmers had migrated west from Delaware and south from Pennsylvania where they had been extremely successful in their agricultural pursuits—more so indeed than some of Maryland's tobacco planters.[80]

Dulany's specific interest in the Germans necessitiates a brief examination of the culture of the Pennsylvania-Germans. At the time it was neither a single entity nor a uniform way of life; rather it was a combination of cultures with a background of diverse geographical areas and religious traditions.[81] Still to his eighteenth-century contemporaries a "Pennsylvania-German" was anyone speaking a "foreign tongue."[82] The Germans' arrival in Pennsylvania's predominantly English society made them the butt of severe criticism and hostility. Many considered them "contentious, cantankerous, belligerent; everyone was glad to see them go West, and felt sorry only because the West was not further away."[83] Others said the Germans were "so profoundly ignorant as to be unable to speak the English language, and were fast becoming like unto wood-born savages."[84] But in reality, the Germans' only major disadvantage, and one which was severely criticized, was their inability to speak and read English.[85]

In sharp contrast to such prejudiced observations was the recognition by others that the Germans were a hardworking, sober people who were most desirable as immigrants. Although a recent scholar contends that the agricultural achievements of the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania-Germans have been lauded without substantial documentary evidence,[86] the people of that era, Dulany included,

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78. Schultz, *First Settlements of Germans in Maryland*, pp. 39, 48-50.
79. Daniel Dulany to Lord Baltimore, April 8, 1745; and Dulany to Governor Samuel Ogle, April 8, 1745, Dulany Papers. The poor state of the tobacco economy also heightened Dulany's strong interest in the backcountry and the grain producing Germans. On several occasions Dulany advised Lord Baltimore that "Our Staple of Tobacco which is our only Staple . . . is in such disreputation that it will hardly defray the expenses of freight and other shipping charges." Moreover, "there is nothing that can raise any money but tobacco, and the Market for that Commodity is so Miserably low, that it will not bear any new burthern" (Daniel Dulany to Lord Baltimore, 1743, and Dulany to Lord Baltimore, September 24, 1743, Dulany Papers).
80. George Johnston, *History of Cecil County* (Elkton, 1881), pp. 77-78; and Richard H. Shyrock, "British versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 26 (1939): 39-54.
81. Frederick B. Tolles, "The Culture of Early Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, 81 (April 1957): 130.
82. J. H. Dubbs, "Pennsylvania Dutch," *Nation*, 41 (1885): 532.
83. Oliver Chitwood, *A History of Colonial America* (New York, 1931), p. 351.
84. Benjamin Franklin, *A Memorial of the Case of the German Emigrants* (London, 1754), p. 5.
85. Tolles, "Culture of Early Pennsylvania," p. 130.
86. Lemon, *Best Poor Man's Country*, *passim*, and *idem*, "The Agricultural Practices of National Groups in Eighteenth-Century Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Geographical Review*, 56 (1966): 493-96.

believed the Germans to be the very best farmers found anywhere. No more convincing testimony to their presumed superiority can be demonstrated than the preference accorded the Germans by land speculators. The same men known as the "boors" and "dumb Dutch" possessed a reputation for well-constructed barns, immaculate farmyards, healthy livestock, and excellent crop yields. In a region noted for wasteful and slovenly farming, contemporaries praised the Germans' industry and good management. "It is pretty to behold our back settlements," wrote Lewis Evans in 1753, "where the barns are as large as palaces, while the owners live in log huts; a sign, though, of thriving farmers."[87] "The farms on the river are owned chiefly by Germans, & bear all marks of their industry," added Dr. Benjamin Rush, and are "equal in point of cultivation to any perhaps in the world." A German's farm was easy to recognize, he continued, one had only to note the "Stone house & barns—large orchards—watered meadows—extensive fields of grain separated from each other with high fences."[88] Benjamin Franklin, who disliked the Germans and feared that their increasing number would adversely affect the language and customs of the English, nonetheless remarked: "Their occupation is mostly husbandry, and they are reckoned excellent farmers, have made great improvements in the countries where they reside, and some few of them, by their diligence and skill in agriculture, have gained very considerable estates."[89] Because of their reputation Dulany hoped to attract the Germans to settle in western Maryland.

By 1745 Dulany had completed his plan for settling the backcountry. In letters to both Lord Baltimore and Governor Ogle, Dulany again detailed his proposals. With a "little Encouragement," he began, "the most remote parts of your Lordship's province will be filled with quiet, honest, and Industrious Inhabitants." But in order to accomplish this, Lord Baltimore would have to imitate a practice which the proprietor of Pennsylvania had found to be very successful. Lord Baltimore was to permit "newcomers" who were unable to buy their own land to settle on the "most distant country" where they would be able either to pay, at a future date, for the land, or by their "Improvements" increase the value of the land. Either way, Dulany added, "I need not tell your Lordship how advantageous such an Enterprise will be to yourself and your family." What Dulany was, in fact, telling the proprietor and the governor, was that they would be "Surprised" to see how "the back parts of the Province are Settled and Improved beyond what could be expected."[90]

Dulany proceeded quickly, even before receiving final proprietary approval, with other aspects of his project. To facilitate the backcountry's economic development, he recognized the need for a regional trading center and in the autumn of 1745 he directed his surveyor to lay out town lots, ranging from 350 to 400 feet by 60 feet in size, near Carroll's Creek at the eastern side of "Tasker's Chance." The community was christened Frederick, probably after the son and

87. Lewis Evans, 'A Brief Description of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1753," in Lawrence H. Gipson, *Lewis Evans* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 100-101.
88. Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., "Dr. Benjamin Rush's Journal of a Trip to Carlisle in 1784," *PMHB*, 74 (October 1950): 450-51.
89. Franklin, *Case of the German Emigrants*, p. 4.
90. Daniel Dulany to Lord Baltimore, April 8, 1745, and Daniel Dulany to Governor Samuel Ogle, April 8, 1745, Dulany Papers.

heir of Lord Baltimore. The Germans acquired a majority of the lots, while a small group of men loyal to Dulany gained access to the town's political and administrative positions. For the next several decades Dulany, and after his death in 1753, the Dulany family, maintained personal control of the community through his appointees. Their position was further strengthened when Lord Baltimore granted Dulany seignoirial rights allowing his heirs to collect a ground rent of one shilling per year and two shillings annually thereafter in perpetuity.[91]

The growth of this backcountry community was phenomenal. One student of Maryland's early history has calculated that by 1750 Frederick with a population of approximately 1,000 was the largest town in Maryland, while Annapolis followed with a population of 800.[92] Dulany's contemporaries and those who later visited Frederick recognized the sustained development of the region. Lord Baltimore heartily extended his gratitude "for the Laudible and Acceptable Service" Dulany had rendered him with the establishment of Frederick.[93] In 1755 members of Braddock's expedition to the Monongahela River remarked that although Frederick had been settled only seven years, there were "about 200 houses and 2 churches, one English, one Dutch; the inhabitants, chiefly Dutch, are industrious but imposing people.[94] Later, in 1773, Maryland's Governor Robert Eden commented that Frederick had, at one time, been the extreme boundary of "cultivated establishments," but after the efforts of an "industrious laborious people" was a "Wilderness" turned into "well-stocked Plantations."[95] Writing at approximately the same time William Eddis, an astute observer of conditions within Maryland, similarly noted that "the richness of the soil, and the salubrity of the air operated . . . powerfully to promote population; but what chiefly tended to the advancement of settlements in this remote district, was the arrival of many emigrants from the Palatinate, and other Germanic states."[96] Isaac Weld, another prominent traveler of the period, described Frederick in the 1790s as a flourishing town of about seven hundred houses and five churches with a developing inland trade.[97]

The establishment of a commercially functional backcountry community soon created the need for better transportation facilities. As early as 1739 a petition was sent to the Maryland General Assembly asking that a road be constructed from Annapolis into the interior.[98] Such requests were inevitable. Maryland's roads, like her settlements, were strung along the bayside and the banks of navigable rivers. The first route of traffic and travel in the backcountry was the Monocacy Road which connected Philadelphia with the western portions of

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91. Schultz, *First Settlements of Germans*, p. 51; and Land, *Dulanys of Maryland*, p. 180.
92. Arthur E. Karinen, "Numerical and Distributional Aspects of Maryland, 1631-1840," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1958), p. 150.
93. Thomas Bladen to Lord Baltimore, January 22, 1744, *Calvert Papers*, p. 93.
94. Winthrop Sargent, ed., *The History of An Expedition Against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755.* (Philadelphia, 1855), p. 368.
95. "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *MHM*, 2 (December 1907): 301-302.
96. Eddis, *Letters From America*, p. 99.
97. Isaac Weld, *Travels Through North America* (London, 1799), p. 75.
98. *Maryland Archives*, 40: 307; and Gould, "Money and Transportation," pp. 126-27.

Virginia. As the flow of people to the Shenandoah Valley increased, the inadequacy of the Monocacy Road and the adverse terrain of the land further west necessitated a separate road system. After Frederick was established, roads were constructed between that town, Annapolis, and Baltimore. By 1750 other modes of transportation included numerous post roads and approximately fifteen ferries.[99]

The newly constructed roads served as outlets for the agricultural products of the backcountry. Unlike the Tidewater region, Frederick did not become dependent upon the production of tobacco. The Maryland Assembly had continually attempted to curtail the production of tobacco, with the expectation that this action would "Invite new Comers into the Province in great numbers and increase the Demand for the back uncultivated Lands."[100] Because of the physical conditions which prevailed in the western portions of the province and Dulany's securing of German settlers, the principal crops of the Frederick region were wheat, oats, corn, flax, and hemp. The farms and plantations in the area generally ranged from 100 to 1,000 acres in size, though near the mountains the land was sometimes divided into smaller holdings. Isaac Weld observed that even though the "best cultivated parts of the country are not seen from the road, which passes chiefly over barren and hill tracts, called ridges, . . . Grain is what is principally cultivated."[101] As early as 1751, sixty wagons loaded with flax seed were recorded arriving in Baltimore from the interior.[102]

Despite the area's productivity, the early settlers were not entirely satisfied with their juridical relationship to the province. Beginning in 1745 Annapolis officials received petitions requesting the division of Prince George's County and establishment of a new county. After several unsuccessful efforts, Daniel Dulany personally presented these petitions to the Assembly. Two important reasons motivated Dulany to press the issue. First, there were the obvious hardships imposed upon the residents of Frederick. To reach the nearest county court required a sixty-five to ninety-five-mile trek on horseback—an extremely unpleasant and hazardous trip during the dead of winter. This problem became all the more critical when the sheriff of Prince George's County announced his intention of charging a commission of 10 percent plus a fee of fifteen shillings currency for collecting all quitrents in arrears among the backcountry inhabi-

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99. George L. Sioussant, "Highway Legislation in Maryland and its Influence on the Economic Development of the State," *Maryland Geological Survey*, 3 (Baltimore, 1899): p. 128; and Gould, "Money and Transportation," pp. 127-70.

100. *Maryland Archives*, 37: 310.

101. Weld, *Travels*, p. 141.

102. *American Husbandry* (London, 1775), p. 113. Gaspare J. Saladino, "The Maryland and Virginia Wheat Trade From its Beginnings to the American Revolution," (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1960), suggests that the movement away from the Tidewater resulted from the discovery of new market crops, soil exhaustion, fluctuating prices, the labor system, dependence on merchant factors, and the inherent difficulties in the production of tobacco. As a result both large and small planters were forced to look westward to the Piedmont and also to the cultivation of a market crop other than tobacco. See also David Klingaman, "The Significance of Grain in the Development of the Tobacco Colonies," *Journal of Economic History*, 29 (June 1969): 268-78.

tants. Many of the people threatened "to Leave their Habitations and the Province, rather than submit to such Imposition."[103]

Coupled with the internal problems of the area's inhabitants was Dulany's desire to secure a constituency for his eldest son. The influence which Dulany commanded in Frederick convinced him that if a county were established, the people would elect his eldest son, Daniel, to the General Assembly. His belief proved entirely correct. On June 11, 1748, Frederick County was organized and shortly thereafter his son was elected to the Maryland General Assembly.[104]

The westward movement in Maryland was well underway. Until his death in 1753, Daniel Dulany continued to encourage the backcountry's development. Although he initially sought German settlers from Pennsylvania, he also promoted a flow of people from Europe, especially the Palatinate. Dulany advertised the western lands in Europe and had a broadside printed and sent to Germany praising the advantages and opportunities of Maryland.[105] Dulany could justly take pride in his accomplishments. What had begun as a half-hearted proclamation in 1732 opening the backcountry for settlement climaxed sixteen years later with the formation of Frederick County.

The settlement of western Maryland was not a constant, progressive, or evenly distributed process. Significantly the omnipresence of cheap land along the frontier of the British colonies acted as a permanent and important attraction to settlers. Although Maryland's proprietary officials, by offering cheap land in their backcountry, had hoped to draw settlers from neighboring Pennsylvania, both man-made and physical controls inhibited and delayed the occupation of the land. The quitrent system, fear of attack by aboriginal inhabitants, violent border disputes, the erroneous conception of poor soil attributed to the Maryland barrens, and land speculation in warrants determined when the region would be occupied. Through time each of the impediments was resolved. The termination of the boundary controversies with Virginia and Pennsylvania considerably eased tensions along Maryland's borders, though the occupation of the Piedmont interior remained negligible with only scattered dwellings near the Monocacy River. In addition, the Five Nations of Iroquois in the Treaty of 1744 relinquished any claim to land within Maryland. However, not until Daniel Dulany's visit to the backcountry in 1744—which convinced him of its potential value and importance—did the first significant step in the region's development occur. Overcoming the final obstacle and actually developing the backcountry was the work of Dulany. Whereas earlier Philemon Lloyd intended to use settlers from Pennsylvania and Europe merely as pawns in gaining access to mineral deposits,

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103. *Maryland Archives*, 28: 141-44, 421, 423. Dulany informed Governor Ogle that "one of the greatest inconveniences they labor under is the great distance they are from the Court House, and this Evil will increase in proportion as their settlements expand further back" (Daniel Dulany to Governor Ogle, April 8, 1745, Dulany Papers). The more remote settlers estimated that the trip to Prince George's County courts would cost them more than their arrear taxes (Black Books, IX No. 61, Hall of Records, Annapolis; and Calendar of Maryland State Papers, The Black Books, No. 394).

104. Land, *Dulanys of Maryland*, pp. 170-84; *idem*, "Land Speculator in Opening of Western Maryland," 191-203; Edward B. Mathews, "The Counties of Maryland," *Maryland Geological Survey*, 6 (Baltimore, 1907), 490-99; and *Maryland Archives*, 46:91.

105. *Calvert Papers*, No. 295½; and Land, *Dulanys of Maryland*, pp. 183-84.

Dulany believed firmly that Germans from Pennsylvania were essential to the successful settlement of western Maryland. By purchasing a select portion of the land west of the Monocacy River, he secured his prominence in any future land transactions concerning this region. This power, vested in land ownership, negated the influence of other speculators who had hindered previously the sale or transfer of land in western Maryland by speculating in land warrants. The establishment of Frederick in 1745 and the formation of Frederick County in 1748 testify to the rapidity of settlement once the impediments were removed.

McCulloch vs. the Jacksonians: Patronage and Politics in Maryland

WHITMAN H. RIDGWAY

STUDENTS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY DESCRIBE THE PRESIDENCY OF ANDREW Jackson as a time of the ascendency of a corrupt "spoils system."[1] The spoils system was designed to reinforce group identity and to stimulate the evolution of the two party system from an embryo of loose confederations to a mature organization of disciplined partisans. Contemporary Jacksonians, however, did not judge the spoils system as operating as effectively as do scholars with the benefit of hindsight. Writing at almost the end of Jackson's second term in office, Samuel Brady, a Baltimore printer who had been a party activist since 1830, complained to Congressman Isaac McKim that "unless the Administration turn out some of the bitter Opponents who are here enjoying federal offices I don't believe we will ever be able to rally again." "Where [is] the necessity of fighting," he questioned, "when our enemies are suffered to retain the best offices."[2] The timing and content of Brady's lament suggests that important conflicts existed within the Jacksonian party which may have been obscured by party propaganda. Indeed, patronage policy may have actually retarded party unity in Maryland throughout most of Jackson's presidency.

The essence of Brady's complaint stemmed from his perception of the discrepancy between the promise and the reality of the Jackson years. Not only did the major officeholders retain their positions after Jackson's inauguration, but the basis of local political influence remained as it had been. Then, as before, the common man appeared isolated from the fruits of political preference. Men without social or political connections in 1829 may have been powerless and generally unsuccessful in their attempts to exert influence, but by 1835 the situation should have changed. New political leaders, partisans who worked their

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Dr. Whitman H. Ridgway is an assistant professor of history at the University of Maryland, College Park. The author wishes to acknowledge financial support from the General Research Board, University of Maryland.

1. See, for example, Carl R. Fish, *The Civil Service and Patronage* (New York, 1904), and Eric M. Ericksson, "The Federal Civil Service Under Andrew Jackson," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 13 (March 1927): 517–40.

2. Brady to McKim, February 8, 1835, Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administration of Andrew Jackson, 1829–1837, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives Microfilm Publication M639, roll 27, frames 224–25 (hereafter cited as Jackson Recommendations, with roll/frame indicated after the date).

way up through the expanding party organization, demanded that they too share political perquisites. The battle ground for this contest was patronage. The fight spilled over into the realm of political recruitment for elected offices and the indemnification controversy following the Bank of Maryland riot in 1835. By probing these themes the development of the Jacksonian party in Maryland may be better understood.

It is important to realize initially that the parties which evolved in Maryland after 1828 were not mirror images of the earlier Republican or Federalist parties.[3] While the Federalist party lingered in Maryland longer than in most states, its demise as a vital opposition in the early 1820s also loosened the glue of party solidarity within the Republican party. Consequently, Republicans were already badly divided by the time of the controversial nomination by the Congressional Caucus of William H. Crawford for president in 1824, which only further weakened the party. As a result of the weakness of the traditional parties, the former leaders were cast adrift in the early 1820s. Some nominal Republicans continued to dominate local and state officeholding and they became the nucleus for the Anti-Jackson party in the late 1820s. Other Republicans formed regional or personal alliances within the state and opposed those in power. These disaffected Republicans, plus a number of former Federalist leaders who were without even a titular party, became the core of the evolving Jackson party in Maryland.

The presidential contests of 1824 and 1828 had a lasting effect on the emerging realignments of old party leaders. In 1824 there were five candidates with active supporters in Maryland: William H. Crawford, Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and the eventual victor, John Quincy Adams. By 1828 the field was reduced to Adams and Jackson. Henry Clay, as secretary of state, was firmly entrenched as Adam's successor by tradition. John C. Calhoun, Adams's vice president, formed an uneasy alliance with Jackson by accepting the second place on his ticket. Because Crawford suffered a debilitating illness, his supporters faced a difficult choice. His managers tried to hide the extent of his incapacitation, thus adding to the confusion over his candidacy. Many were loath to abandon him, while others migrated into the Jackson camp during the campaign. The result of these forced realignments between 1824 and 1828 was a two-party contest in which the leaders of each party had markedly different political roots. The National Republican, or Adams party, controlled the state government and claimed legitimacy as the party of Jefferson. The Jackson party, lacking the unity of a unanimous Jeffersonian tradition, had as its leaders an

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3. The argument concerning the evolution of Maryland politics derives from my dissertation, "A Social Analysis of Maryland Community Leaders, 1827–36: A Study of the Distribution of Power in Baltimore City, Frederick County, and Talbot County" (University of Pennsylvania, 1973; hereafter cited as "A Social Analysis"). This interpretation varies somewhat from Mark H. Haller, "The Rise of the Jackson Party in Maryland, 1820–1829," *Journal of Southern History* 28 (August 1962): 307–26; and Richard P. McCormick, *The Second Party System* (Chapel Hill, 1966), pp. 3–16, 154–66. For the earlier party system see L. Marx Renzulli, Jr., *Maryland: The Federalist Years* (Rutherford, N. J., 1972).

amalgam of politicians with varied political backgrounds and equally diverse goals.[4]

Besides stimulating former party leaders into new alignments, the evolving second party system generated a new leadership cadre. This is vividly demonstrated by the Maryland experience. In an effort to rally voters to Jackson's cause, the early leaders reintroduced and expanded local organizational activities which had been used in the Republican era. Besides utilizing the party press to mobilize support, by proselytizing and regularizing intraparty meetings, new leadership roles opened through an expansion and systematization of popular rallies, central committees, and nomination conventions for state and federal offices. In the beginning, old leaders guided these activities, but as the party system matured new leaders emerged with a power base rooted in the party itself. Men such as William Frick, Philip Laurenson, or John W. Wilmer, rose to party prominence in this way. The conflict between the old and the new leaders was the germ of Brady's complaint in 1835.

A closer look at several of the original leaders of the Maryland Jacksonian party will demonstrate their diverse backgrounds and sometimes competing goals. Some, such as Roger B. Taney, Richard Frisby, Benjamin Chew Howard, or Reverdy Johnson, supported Jackson without qualification. These men were professionals with varied connections to the first party system. Taney and Frisby had been rural Federalist leaders, while Howard descended from a wealthy and prominent Baltimore Federalist family. Others, like Virgil Maxcy, advocated the Jackson cause because his success would further the presidential ambitions of John C. Calhoun. Still others, like John Nelson and Colonel Edward Lloyd, men with strong identification with the moribund Republican party, left William H. Crawford's faction during the campaign to join the Jacksonian party. General Samuel Smith, the Maryland Senator from Baltimore, abandoned Crawford only at the last moment, becoming an "eleventh hour" convert.

During Jackson's first term of office many of these men were appointed to the federal establishment. It was not until 1831, after he resigned as the state attorney general, that the most prominent leader, Roger B. Taney, assumed the equivalent federal position. Between 1831 and his confirmation as chief justice of the Supreme Court in 1836, Taney served as a major political advisor to the president and as acting secretary of the treasury. During these years the Senate twice rejected his nomination for federal offices.[5] John Nelson, endorsed by Taney and Senator Smith for federal preference, had first been put forward as a

4. Virgil Maxcy observed to John C. Calhoun "That the talent and respectability of what was once the federal party in Maryland is with Jackson and friendly to you; the majority of that party however, went with Adams . . . . That directly the reverse of this is true, with respects to the Democratic Party, almost all of the political managers of this party having gone with the Administration [Adams], while the majority of the Democratic voters are with Jackson" (May 7, 1829, in *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson, American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1899 [Washington, 1900], p. 801).

5. Surprisingly, there is little written about Taney's partisan activities in Maryland during the years 1827 to 1836. While generally above patronage, he wrote several recommendations (see Taney to President, May 22, 1829, 11/21-22, Taney to M. Van Buren, November 6, 1830, 12/213-15, U.S. Heath to Taney, June 9, 1833, 2/215-217, Jackson Recommendations; Taney to Secretary of State, January 22, 1832, Miscellaneous Letters Received Regarding Publishers of the Laws, 1789-1875, General

candidate for United States treasurer before he was eventually selected as the charge d'affaires to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1831.[6] Virgil Maxcy, tainted by his warm advocacy of Calhoun, was initially frustrated in his quest for a treasury position because he was in competition with Nelson and the latter had more influential backers. Finally, after a disastrous fire heavily damaged his property in Anne Arundel County, Maxcy's friends worked to create the position of solicitor of the treasury for him to fill in 1830.[7] Other early leaders who retired from active politics for various reasons, such as Colonel Edward Lloyd of Talbot County, did not covet federal offices for themselves but they continued to have an interest in how such offices were distributed locally.[8] A constant theme permeated this early patronage activity: almost all of these early leaders were assimilated into the federal bureaucracy outside the state of Maryland. Lesser men, party activists rather than leaders, fought for political appointments within the state.

A clamor for rotation in office rose in Maryland beginning with Jackson's victory in 1828, and increased in intensity throughout his administration. There were vocal protestations from the former administration newspaper editors as they were dismissed as the publishers of the federal laws, as local postmasters, or as officers of minor ports and replaced by more deserving Jacksonian editors.[9]

Records of the Department of State, RG 59, NA [hereafter cited as Publishers of the Laws]; Taney to Van Buren, March 15, 1836, Papers of Martin Van Buren, Library of Congress [hereafter cited as Van Buren Papers]). As Chief Justice, Taney made the following observations to Benjamin F. Butler, October 28, 1836, "Since I received this office I now hold I have thought it best to abstain from interferring with appointments, unless very peculiar circumstances seem to make it my duty to speak" (Benjamin F. Butler Papers, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey). He probably worked through loyal lieutenants. In 1833, for instance, McClintock Young, a Baltimore partisan, joined the Treasury Department, and thereafter acted as a trouble shooter between the administration and the local party.

6. See John Nelson to Samuel Smith, March 20 and 28, 1829, Papers of Samuel Smith, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as Smith Papers); and Howard R. Marrano, "John Nelson's Mission to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, 1831–1832," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 44 (September 1949): 149–76.

7. Maxcy, a political organizer since the mid 1820s, felt thwarted by the new administration. For the competition between Maxcy and Nelson, see his letters to John C. Calhoun, April 6, April 9, and May 7, 1829, in *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, ed. Jameson, pp. 794, 795–98, 800–807. As reflections of his anxiety, see the following letters to him from John C. Calhoun, January 13, June 21, and November 2, 1829; from I. D. Ingham, September 4, November 19, 1829; from Richard M. Johnson, February 22, 1830; and from Benjamin Chew, June 2, 1830, Maxcy-Markoe Papers, Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Papers, Library of Congress.

8. Col. Lloyd's role in the formation of the Talbot County Jackson party was understated by Oswald Tilghman, comp., *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661–1861*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1967), 1: 198–99. For a comparison, see, Ridgway, "A Social Analysis," pp. 154–80; Dabney S. Carr to Secretary of State, December 10, 1829, and Edward Lloyd to Same, April 5, 1829, Publishers of the Laws.

9. In Baltimore federal patronage was awarded to the *Republican* and taken from the *Patriot*; in Fredericktown the *Independent Citizen* became the publisher of the laws and the *Herald* lost the contract; in Annapolis Jonas Green, editor of the *Maryland Gazette*, became postmaster; and in Easton Alexander Graham, postmaster and editor of the Anti-Jackson *Gazette*, was displaced by John D. Green, editor of the *Eastern Shore Whig and Peoples Advocate*. Duff Green's expose in the *National Intelligencer*, September 27, 1832, is still helpful, but trends can be determined by comparing the biannual volumes of the *Register of All Officers and Agents, Civil, Military and Naval in the Service of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1824–1837). See also the letters of recommendation in the Publishers of the Laws.

Notwithstanding the fulminations of its proponents who wanted a more universal proscription, or the depreciations of its critics who asserted that the evil spoils system was in full operation, rotation in office did not affect the most lucrative positions within the gift of the executive. Of all the top office holders, only the naval officer of the Baltimore port, William B. Barney, was replaced.

The displacement of the naval officer in 1829 illuminates significant facets of the operation of patronage power during the early years of the Jackson administration. While Barney unsuccessfully fought his ouster by asserting that he was an efficient and admired official, something which was widely acknowledged, most people recognized that he was a "political adversary" of the administration and therefore expendable.[10] He had served for many years in the Naval Office, first as an assistant to his father, Commodore Joshua Barney, and then succeeding him after his father's death in 1818. In the context of the early nineteenth century his political connections were excellent: he married a daughter of Federalist Justice Samuel Chase and his brother was a Federalist Congressman from Baltimore during the 1820s. By 1829, however, these very assets had become liabilities under the new administration and he was fired without any lasting controversy. Dabney S. Carr, the editor of the Baltimore Jackson newspaper, *The Republican*, was appointed his successor. Carr was well connected. Not only was he the editor of the central party press, but he also happened to be Senator Samuel Smith's nephew.

The key figure behind Maryland's patronage policy in the early years of the Jackson administration was Senator Smith. As an "eleventh hour" Jacksonian he appeared to be an unlikely actor in this role but as a United States Senator, one who chaired the Finance Committee at a time when the tariff and the Second Bank of the United States were important public issues, the new administration curried his favor. Not only did Smith enjoy immense influence over patronage during these years, he continued to be able to protect his friends and relatives for a time after his retirement from the Senate in 1833.

Throughout his congressional service spanning forty years, Smith boosted the public careers of many members of his family.[11] Besides working to further the career of Dabney S. Carr during the Adams and Jackson administrations,[12] he

10. The sense of change and outrage were evident in correspondence relating to Barney's discharge. See the following letters to Mrs. Barney from Hugh McElderry, April 1829; R. B. Taney, April 18, 1829; and Benjamin C. Howard, April 18, 1829; as well as, William B. Barney to U.S. Senate, January 14, 1830, 21st Congress, Nomination Papers of the U.S. Senate, 1789–1901, Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46, NA (hereafter cited as Senate Nomination Papers).

11. Smith's nepotism was attacked as early as 1802 in the opposition press: "In fine, have you any business, either civil, political, or military, with any of the heads of those institutions, whether with the federal, the state, or the municipal government, you will find some branch of this hydra-headed family to have a voice in it" (Baltimore *Republican Or Anti-Democrat*, October 25, 1802).

12. See Samuel Smith to Henry Clay, March 8, 1825; Petition (Merchants of Baltimore) to President, February 1826; and Nathaniel H. Claiborne et al. to Secretary of State, February 20, 1826, 2/76–83, Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administration of John Quincy Adams, 1825–1829, General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, National Archives Microfilm Publication M531 (hereafter cited as Adams Recommendations); Petition (Jackson State Legislators) to Andrew Jackson, February 20, 1829; and William H. Marriott to Jackson, February 27, 1829, 4/259–65, Jackson Recommendations; Samuel Smith to Secretary of the Treasury, March 18, 1829, 21st Congress, Senate Nomination Papers.

was attentive to the diplomatic career of his son-in-law, Christopher Hughes. Despite Hughes's obtuseness and manifest ingratitude for Smith's efforts to compensate for his own mediocrity, he rose to become the charge d'affaires to Sweden during the Jackson administration.[13] John Spear Smith, Senator Smith's only living son, was a Jackson partisan, a militia general, and served as a state senator between 1829 and 1831. Even with such impressive political credentials, he played only a minor role in political affairs. Mentioned favorably in correspondence for a future appointment, John Spear Smith lived a genteel life on the family estate, Montebello, in Baltimore County.[14] A more distant relative, John Spear Nicholas, was an active partisan in Baltimore city politics, serving in the lower house of the state legislature between 1829 and 1831. To be a member of Samuel Smith's family meant access to electoral nomination or appointment to public office.

Senator Smith also rewarded his political friends. The best example of his political largess was James H. McCulloch, from 1808 to his death in 1836 the collector of the port of Baltimore, acknowledged by all as the most remunerative federal office. McCulloch was an avid Republican during the turbulent political contests in the late 1790s, especially in the Congressional election of 1798, when a Federalist referred to him as "the worthy coadjutor of General Samuel Smith,"[15] An old man with functionally atavistic political ties by the 1830s, McCulloch's commission was renewed in 1830 and again in 1834 despite popular pressure to allow it to lapse.[16] When there was talk that the collectorship might be awarded to the Senator himself upon his retirement, Smith wrote President Jackson declining the favor and boosting McCulloch because he was old and poor, but especially because he "had the pleasure of procuring for him his present office which he has conducted to the entire satisfaction of the merchants and I believe the Treasury department."[17] The United States attorney for Maryland, Nathaniel Williams, Smith's acknowledged friend since 1798 and also Commodore

13. Frank A. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Baltimore, 1752–1839* (Madison, Wisc., 1971), pp. 255–56.

14. Louis McLane to S. Smith, March 13, 1834, Smith Papers.

15. See "A Republican," August 21, 1798, Baltimore *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* (hereafter cited as *Gazette*); McCulloch also signed a pro-Smith petition which was printed in the *Gazette* on November 1, 1798. Whenever there was a major vacancy during the Jefferson administration, Smith boosted McCulloch's candidacy. As the Federalist collector, Robert Purviance, lay dying, Smith wrote President Jefferson recommending McCulloch as his replacement (December 29, 1806, 8/35–36); similarly, upon the death of Purviance's successor, Gabriel Christie, Smith recommended McCulloch (Smith to Secretary of the Treasury, April 4, 1808, 8/42); and again when he heard of the death of the Naval Officer (Smith to President, June 20, 1808, 8/38, all contained in Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administration of Thomas Jefferson, 1801–1809, General Records of the Department of State, RG 59, National Archives Microfilm Publication M418).

16. Dabney S. Carr, writing Senator John L. Kerr in 1842, commented on the pressure to replace McCulloch: "It was an office of the most patronage of any in the gift of the Government in Baltimore and the efforts of the politicians of my party were continued, throughout General Jackson's administration, to oust him. I exerted myself, in opposition to them and incurred their bitter displeasure, for what was believed to be owing to my exertions made directly and through my old uncle General Smith" (27th Congress, Senate Nomination Papers).

17. Smith to Andrew Jackson, March 11, 1834; see also Louis McLane to Smith, March 13, 1834, Smith Papers.

Joshua Barney's son-in-law, was similarly reappointed in 1829 and 1833.[18] The Baltimore postmaster, John F. Skinner, another former Republican ally with good family connections who had supported Crawford in the early 1820s, had the political wisdom to ingratiate himself with Jackson's personal secretary.[19] Only Thomas Finley, appointed United States marshall in 1826 and reappointed four years later, apparently had less than enthusiastic support from Senator Smith.

Against this patronage establishment, characterized by long-standing family and personal ties, the pressure for rewarding new party leaders with federal appointments began immediately upon Jackson's inauguration and continued to build throughout his term in office.[20] Most of the cases were predicated on early and continous party activities. James Madison Buchanan, an attorney and early political activist from Baltimore County, was a typical example. As an incumbent member of the lower house of the state legislature, he voluntarily declined standing for re-election in the interests of party solidarity in 1827 because other Jacksonians who coveted the position would not withdraw. His efforts in the 1828 presidential campaign earned high praise from Elias Brown, the victorious presidential elector who ran successfully for Congress in 1829. While he was again a candidate for the lower house in 1829, Buchanan simultaneously sought an appointment as secretary to a European legation in recognition for such selfless service. Armed with recommendations from party leaders, including Senator Samuel Smith, Dabney S. Carr, General John Spear Smith, and John Van Lear McMahon, attesting to his party regularity and diplomatic promise, Buchanan had every right to anticipate success. His dreams never materialized.[21]

The appointment of Charles Carroll Harper as secretary of the French legation illustrates the problems common Jacksonians faced in the Maryland party structure. Harper was the son of Federalist leader Robert Goodloe Harper, and grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence and a man of great wealth and prestige. He was thus a member of the social

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18. Smith to Williams, October 1820, Smith Papers; John Stricker to James Monroe, n.d.(c.1824), 19/139–141, Letters of Application and Recommendation During the Administration of James Monroe, 1817–1825, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives Microfilm Publication M439 (hereafter cited as Monroe Recommendations).

19. Skinner was an interesting transitional figure between the two party systems. For a treatment of his early career see T. Bland's autobiographical letter, September 10, 1819, 2/, Monroe Recommendations. For his political activities in the 1820s, see his several letters to Col. Edward Lloyd: (?),1823, October 7, 1823, April 23, 1824, Lloyd Papers (Ms. 2001), Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. As for his political good sense, demonstrated by his offer to send complimentary copies of his *Turf Register* to the friends of Jackson's personal secretary, see Skinner to A. J. Donelson, September 24, 1829, A. J. Donelson Papers, Library of Congress.

20. See, for example, Nicholas G. Ridgely to Duff Green, June 17, 1829, 27/123–25, and William Patterson to Samuel Smith, March 18, 1829, 2/420–22, Jackson Recommendations.

21. There are seventeen letters in Buchanan's Jackson Recommendations file, 3/635–78; see especially Elias Brown to President, March 17, 1829, 3/656–58. After Harper's appointment, Buchanan wrote the President to ascertain if there were any chance for an appointment and his words underscored his pessimism: "I am aware that my prospects for success are greatly diminished in consequence of the appointment of a Secretary (doubtless more deserving than myself) from this state already" (July 16, 1829, 3/675–76).

elite of the state. Educated in private schools and a French military academy, trained in law in Maryland, he married a South Carolina belle and was firmly entrenched in the best Baltimore circles. His political service to the party, however, was limited to membership on a Baltimore committee of correspondence in 1828. Yet, when it came to choosing between the partisan, Buchanan, or the politically active member of the dominant social class, Harper, Smith's position is vividly demonstrated by the tone and substance of what he said. Formal and polite, Smith supported Buchanan as worthy of an appointment.[22] Responding to a private query from the secretary of state about Harper's qualifications, Smith provided intimate detail, observing that Mr. Carroll would probably increase his support of his grandson to $2,000 per annum if he were appointed.[23] Where Buchanan's file bulges with party nominations, Harper had the formal support of Senator Smith and later Robert Oliver, a wealthy and prominent Baltimore merchant.[24] In the context of 1829, party service was not enough to offset claims of individuals with better social and political connections. Just as Buchanan failed in his quest for a coveted foreign appointment, others failed to dislodge persons holding the major federal patronage positions in the state, many of whom covertly opposed the Jackson administration. By 1834 this situation had changed.

In the mid 1830s party pressure to force some alteration in the prevailing system reached the bursting point. The Baltimore party paper editorialized, "Many of their friends have been permitted to hold for a long time the best offices in this state which are in the gift of the national executive, and as a just measure of retaliation it is nothing more than right and proper that they should be removed."[25] Baltimore congressmen, long thwarted in their efforts to influence patronage decisions because of Senator Smith's power, also began to assert themselves. To complicate matters further, claimants appeared from rural counties calling for an end to Baltimore's monopoly over the major federal patronage plums. The fall of Thomas Finley illustrates these cross currents.

Colonel Finley's commission as United States marshall was allowed to expire because of his family's outspoken adherence to the old political structure. He was especially vulnerable because his son was an active and indiscrete leader of the Anti-Jackson party. In the words of I. D. Maulsby, who wrote a recommendation favoring the continuance of Finley, "The fact is, his son is a forward, impudent young man and the father has been exceptionally mortified by the course he took and did all in his power to prevent it."[26] Notwithstanding his furious efforts to convince the administration of his bipartisan and statewide support, including recommendations from Jacksonian Congressmen Isaac McKim and James P.

22. Smith to Van Buren, April 6, 1829, 3/635–36, Jackson Recommendations.
23. Van Buren to Smith, May 26, 1829, Smith Papers; Smith to Van Buren, May 28 and 29, 1829, 10/469–73, Jackson Recommendations.
24. Compare the Buchanan file, 3/635–78, to the Harper file, 10/469–80, Jackson Recommendations.
25. Baltimore *Republican*, March 11, 1835. See also Dabney S. Carr's comment cited above in fn. 16.
26. Maulsby to Secretary of State, December 20, 1834, 8/135–36; see also William McMahon to President, December 30, 1834, 8/139–41, Jackson Recommendations.

Heath, as well as from John Spear Smith, Finley failed to win reappointment when his commission expired in 1834.[27]

This initial fissure in the patronage establishment brought forth various claimants. Jonathan Fitch, a merchant and obscure party leader, was nominated only to be rejected by the Senate. While Fitch's "rejection" became a political rallying point for Maryland Jacksonians during the political campaign of 1835, it also permitted other party candidates to come forward.[28] From Baltimore a battle of recommendations raged between John W. Wilmer and Philip Laurenson, two important figures in the urban party.[29] From western Maryland, long a stronghold of Republican and Jacksonian support, Congressman Francis Thomas labored to secure the appointment of Colonel Nicholas Snyder. In the end, Colonel Snyder received the appointment and Baltimore lost its monopoly over the best federal positions.

The patronage establishment suffered a more important loss in 1836 with the death of James H. McCulloch, the collector of the port. During McCulloch's long tenure, Senator Smith was successful in securing the renewal of his commission every four years, so that the position was secure as long as he lived. His death not only created a vacancy but it also demonstrated Smith's diminished political influence after his departure from federal service. Among the candidates for this appointment was Dabney S. Carr, Smith's nephew and the former editor of the Baltimore *Republican*, who had been a constant source of political information despite his retirement from active politics.[30] He pressed a claim on the basis that his appointment as collector would be a natural

27. There are a total of nineteen letters supporting Finley's continuation, 8/131–73, Jackson Recommendations. Smith was conspicuously absent. One reason may have been that he supported Gen. Samuel Ringgold for the position in 1826 (see Smith to Secretary of State, December 18, 1826, 7/163–74; for the other applicants see the files on Thomas Finley, 3/217–38; C. C. Jamison, 4/604–609; Sheppard C. Leakin, 5/78–89; Samuel McClelland, 5/353–60; and George E. Mitchell, 5/747–52, Adams Recommendations).

28. The Anti-Jackson attack on Fitch was best articulated by the Fredericktown *Herald*, February 7, 1835: "Fitch is a furious partisan and presided at a public meeting . . . If, after such vile slanders, the senate had confirmed the nomination of Fitch, they would have furnished one evidence that they deserve the obliquity that has been heaped upon them." Among Jacksonians, the lukewarm support for him was illuminated in two letters to McClintock Young, dated January 28, 1835, from Louis M. Jenkins and George R. Mosher, 13/585–91, Jackson Recommendations. Fitch's efforts to explain his partisan activities were presented in his file, 23rd Congress, Senate Nomination Papers. Despite less than unanimous party support, the Baltimore *Republican*, February 5 and 9, 1835, used the rejection to kindle party spirit.

29. See the ten letters in support of Laurenson, 13/568–97, and the five advocating Wilmer, 27/209–26, Jackson Recommendations.

30. As examples of political advising see Carr to President, March 19, 1829, 3/662–64; Carr to Secretary of State, June 10, 1829, 11/657–58, Jackson Recommendations; and Carr to Francis P. Blair, June 4, 1831, November 24, 1835, Blair-Lee Papers, Princeton University. In an effort to protect his appointment in 1842, Carr wrote Senator John L. Kerr, "I am conscious of no act personal or *political*, since I have been in office, incomparable with the character or duties of my official station. I have never taken part in any public political meeting and that too, on the ground, openly avowed, that I thought the course unbecoming a public officer. I have never been a member of any political committee, caucus, or convention. I have never made any political speeches, I have used no patronage of office, for there is none attached to my office" (March 17, 1842, 27th Congress, Senate Nomination Papers). A close study of Baltimore partisan activity demonstrates that Carr was accurate in reporting his public neutrality.

succession from a lower to a higher position.[31] His credentials in 1836, however, were not what they had been in 1829. William Frick, a Baltimore attorney and a major figure in party organizational activities between 1827 and 1836, also sought the appointment. Without remarkable family connections or traditional linkages to the Republican past, Frick, like Laurenson and Wilmer, represented the ascendancy of new political leaders from the community at large. Basing a claim on service, Frick—not Smith's nephew—became the new collector.[32] Carr, who was secure in his present position, remained naval officer until the Whigs replaced him in the early 1840s.

The appointment of William Frick as collector symbolized basic changes in the distribution of power within the ruling establishment. Not only would Frick use the patronage at his disposal for more openly partisan purposes than McCulloch did during the Jackson administration, a pattern emulated by future collectors of both parties, but his success represented a victory in the battle between the old and new political leaders which had begun in 1829.[33] To appreciate the significance of this subtle transformation, we should look to two other facets of politics in the 1830s: the defection of the Workingmen's party in 1833 from the Jackson party and the indemnification controversy in 1836.

The importance of party nomination increased as the second party system matured in the 1830s, with the result that those who controlled nominations wielded great power within the party structure. Considering the social and economic diversity of Baltimore city, it is not surprising to find members of old political families competing with young ambitious professionals and popular leaders from the ranks of manual laborers for the prize of party nomination to elective offices. Generally, there was consultation and cooperation between these competing groups which took place in the proliferation of conventions and partisan meetings during this era. This pattern of cooperation failed in 1833 when there was a major defection from the Jackson party to form the Workingmen's party.

The issue dividing the Jacksonians was unambiguous: the laborers wanted one of their own nominated for the House of Delegates; the two incumbents insisted on their own renomination; and the party leaders favored the incumbents.

31. See Carr to F. P. Blair, November 12, 1836, Blair-Lee Papers; and especially the Carr file in Box 96, Collectors of the Customs: Applications, Maryland, Baltimore, Treasury Department Recommendations, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, Record Group 56, NA. In addition to writing letters to the secretary of the treasury and the president, he enclosed a petition and letters of support for Baltimore party activists.

32. For an analysis of Frick's role in the Jackson party, see Ridgway, "A Social Analysis," pp. 122, 129–30. His standing with the older party leaders was symbolized by Taney's letter of introduction to President Jackson, July 23, 1834, Blair-Lee Papers.

33. Frick, favoring a policy of removing several customs officers, observed to the secretary of the treasury, June 15, 1838, that "the incumbants are far advanced in life, and have now become incapable of personal attention to the duties required of them by law" (Letters Received From Collectors of the Customs, 1833–1869, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, RG 56, National Archives Microfilm Publication M174). Frick's appointees included such Jacksonian leaders as John W. Wilmer and Philip Laurenson. See several other letters to the secretary of the treasury in this same collection, April 17, 1837, 14/; June 15, 1838, 16/; December 26, 1839, 18/; and April 13, 1840, 20/.

Charles Carroll Harper, member of two distinguished if controversial first families, had won the nomination and election, in the best tradition of ambitious members of the elite, after returning from his sojourn as secretary to the French legation in Paris. Never a popular leader, Harper's determination to be renominated was equaled by the common man's unwillingness to be represented by him. After a protracted deadlock in the nomination convention, blue-collar Jacksonians defected to form the Workingmen's party which nominated two of their own as candidates.[34]

The schism within the Jackson party in 1833 took a heavy toll at the polls in early October. The Anti-Jackson party cleverly declined to make nominations that year to aggravate the division if they could, so the contest was distinctly between factions within the Jackson party. Despite the Baltimore *Republican's* constant refrain that the Workingmen's party was nothing more than an Anti-Jacksonian front, which it was not, Jacksonian party candidates were soundly beaten in the election.[35] Not only did Harper lose the election, the defection cost Congressman Benjamin Chew Howard his seat too.

A measure of the responsiveness of the party system was that the Workingmen's party existed only through the fall of 1833 despite the attempts of nationally-oriented politicians to use it as the nucleus for the presidential ambitions of Judge McLean. Former Congressman Howard, among others, recognized the party's need to reassimilate the defecting Workingmen. By 1834 he wrote that the schism was patched and in the next year he regained his Congressional seat.[36] Party nominations, for the lower house of the state legislature at least, would reflect the diversity of the party.

Similarly, the indemnification controversy following the riots of August 1835 over the failure of the Bank of Maryland highlighted the conflict between old and new leaders. During the riots, where the houses and personal property of several directors of the defaulting bank were systematically sought out and destroyed, there was a fear that it represented class warfare.[37] After the volatile situation had cooled, and the rioters and directors faced their separate trials, those directors who lost property made a claim for indemnification before the House of Delegates in Annapolis. Not only was the indemnification issue unpopular in Baltimore, the situation was exacerbated by the fact that several of the leading

34. Baltimore's workingmen were already restive over the ten hour day in 1833 (See the Baltimore *Republican* for July 22; August 2, 21, 24, 27; and September 6, 1833). For the protracted Jackson party nominations for the general assembly, see the *Republican* between August 26 and September 17, 1833. The Workingmen's nominations were reported fully in the Baltimore *American* from August 18 through September 12, 1833.

35. While the Baltimore *Republican* reported the Workingmen's nominations, September 18 and 20, 1833, it quickly attacked the movement, September 30 through October 7, 1833. By 1834 the *Republican* blamed Harper and not the workingmen for the schism (see "Turncoats," April 25, 1834).

36. B. C. Howard to Virgil Maxcy, November 9, 1833 and August 20, 1834, Virgil Maxcy Papers, Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Papers.

37. For an insightful treatment of the 1835 bank riots, see David Grimsted "Democratic Rioting: A Case Study of the Baltimore Bank Mob of 1835," in William O'Neill, ed., *Insights and Parallels* (Minneapolis, 1973), pp. 125-192; Grimsted, "Rioting in Its Jacksonian Setting," *American Historical Review* 77 (April 1972): 361-97; and Frank O. Gatell, ed., "Roger B. Taney, the Bank of Maryland Rioters, and a Whiff of Grapeshot," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 59 (September 1964): 262-68.

figures in the controversy were former Jackson party leaders who had eschewed their youthful zealotry by changing party allegiance to the Anti-Jackson cause. Reverdy Johnson, whose house and property were destroyed by the rioters because of his association with the bank, was a state senator in the 1820s and an early Jackson advocate. John Van Lear McMahon, a popular attorney and former Jackson leader, who had also served several terms in the House of Delegates both from Allegany County and later from Baltimore, presented Johnson's claim for indemnification to his former colleagues in the general assembly.[38] Roger B. Taney, a Jacksonian stalwart who privately condemned the riot and wanted firm action taken against the rioters, was in an especially uncomfortable position.[39] He had promised his friend, Reverdy Johnson, to support his case, but the hearing coincided with the ratification of his own nomination as chief justice of the Supreme Court; consequently he did not want to generate a new political liability. As a result, he compromised. He honored his promise by his physical presence before the bar, but he declined to take an active part in the presentation.

The riot and the brazen attempt by members of the elite to recover their property damages by special legislative action, while the common depositors had no redress against the defaulting banks, highlighted the tensions between the elite and the larger community. Samuel Harker, editor of the influential Baltimore *Republican*, acidly pointed out the distance between the urban Jackson party and its former leaders in an editorial: "Had the applicants been some poor and obscure individuals whose little all had been destroyed by some wealthy and influential nabob, we should have seen none of the pathos which is now so liberally employed in favor of the indemnity."[40] Taney, for one, also recognized the larger implications of the controversy, and he privately bemoaned Harker's attempts to make it a party issue.[41]

The members of the elite knew what they were doing. The legislature passed an indemnification bill, authorizing payment from future Baltimore revenues, and the rioters were brought to swift trial in Harford County far beyond the reach of sympathetic urban juries. The issue did not appear to be politically sensitive to the United States Senate, and Taney was confirmed as John Marshall's successor without difficulty. The division between the old Jacksonians and the new Jacksonians, however, was again reaffirmed.

The study of patronage during Jackson's administration reveals a party far from unified in common action. Rather than use federal patronage to build a

38. The Baltimore *Republican* castigated McMahon in 1834 as a Turncoat (April 25, 1834), along with Charles Carroll Harper and two others.

39. Taney's discomfort was expressed in several letters. See Taney to James Mason Campbell, January 15, 1836, Gratz Collection; Taney to Campbell, March 4 and 8, 1836, Jurist, Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; and also Taney to Van Buren, March 7, 8, 15, 1836, Van Buren Papers. The majority of the Taney correspondence at the Maryland Historical Society was presented in F. O. Gatell's article in fn. 37.

40. "The Indemnity," March 24, 1836. On the following day, the *Republican* editorialized: "The passage of it affords an evidence of the fact that in this land of liberty, the power of wealth and influence controls the actions of those who make the laws." See also, in the same paper, March 29; May 1, 1836.

41. Taney to Van Buren, March 7, 1836, Van Buren Papers.

political following in Maryland, a state whose government was generally hostile to the new administration and used its own extensive patronage for increasingly political purposes,[42] it was administered primarily by Samuel Smith. Smith's influence rested on his position as a United States Senator. In deference to him, the government ignored pleas to initiate "rotation in office" designed to achieve party cohesion. The battle over patronage, however, represented deeper divisions than the lust for public offices.

The battle raged, sometimes quietly and at other times rancorously, over who should have power within the new Jackson party itself. The party was a dynamic association of competing groups whose initial leaders were trained in the first party era. These older politicians, some with long political experience and extensive government service, expected to have their own way over patronage nominations and other party matters. Heads of the other groups, maturing as leaders as the second party system evolved, increasingly challenged the older politicians' right to rule. During Jackson's administration early leaders, such as Senator Smith or Roger B. Taney, and aspiring politicians in their image, such as John Spear Smith or Charles Carroll Harper, became increasingly dysfunctional within the party. They were replaced by men such as William Frick, John W. Wilmer, and Philip Laurenson.

Senator Smith's retirement, or Taney's elevation to the Supreme Court, did not represent the eclipse of the elite and the triumph of the masses in the governing of the Jackson party.[43] Other members of the dominant social class, Congressman Benjamin Chew Howard, for example, filled the power vacuum. Son of Smith's nemesis in the late 1790s, Colonel John Eager Howard, and brother of the Anti-Jacksonian state governor, Benjamin Chew Howard was easily recognized as a man of wealth, tradition, and prestige. But he perceived in the 1830s, as Senator Smith never had, an obligation to share power within the Jackson party with leaders of the other competing groups.[44] Ironically, it was only at the end of Jackson's presidency that there was greater cohesion and common purpose within the Maryland party.

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42. See especially the exchange between the Baltimore *Republican* and the Anti-Jackson Baltimore *Commercial Chronicle* in February and March 1835.

43. It should be pointed out that Smith's retirement lasted only a few years. He was called back into service during the Bank Riot in 1835 and served as Mayor of Baltimore until 1838. See Cassell, *Merchant Congressman*, pp. 258–62. During this period, however, he did not act as a partisan.

44. The large collection of Howard papers at the Maryland Historical Society contains few insightful political letters. B. C. Howard's responsiveness to popular pressures is suggested in his letters to V. Maxcy, cited in fn. 36, and in several letters to him from Joshua Vansant, March 7, 18, 19, 1839, Howard Papers (Ms. 469).

SIDELIGHTS

A Life Drawing of Jefferson by John Trumbull

E. P. RICHARDSON*

A PENCIL DRAWING OF *Thomas Jefferson* IN THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY (Fig. 1) has been attributed to Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820) since its discovery, some forty years ago, among the papers of the gifted architect and engineer whom President Jefferson in 1803 made Surveyor of Public Buildings of the United States. After Latrobe's death at New Orleans in 1820, his papers were inherited by his son, John H. B. Latrobe of Baltimore, who retained them until his own death in 1891. His widow gave the papers then to his law partner, John E. Semmes. At Semmes's death in 1920 the Latrobe papers were inherited by his three children. The sons, John E. and Raphael Semmes, gave their holdings to the Maryland Historical Society in 1927 and 1943. The drawing of Jefferson came to light subsequently in the bottom of a trunk belonging to Miss Frances C. Semmes and was given in 1953 to the Society. It was then mounted together with three other unrelated drawings in a mat with four windows. The mat has not been preserved; but the lettering identifying the subjects of the drawings was said to resemble Latrobe's lettering. On this evidence, Fiske Kimball (1944) and Talbot Hamlin, in his official biography of Latrobe (1955), accepted the drawing as being by Latrobe. Such authoritative opinions as these were accepted by Bush in the catalogue of the exhibition of *Life Portraits of Jefferson* held at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in 1962.[1]

The dissimilarity between this subtle and refined pencil drawing and the sketchy, rather rough pen drawings of Latrobe raised questions in the minds of

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Dr. E. P. Richardson, an eminent art historian, lives in Philadelphia. This article previously appeared in *The American Art Journal*, 7, no. 2 (November 1975). It is republished for the convenience of our readers with the permission of *The American Art Journal* and Dr. Richardson.

* I am greatly indebted to the editors of The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, particularly to Charles E. Brownell, and to Dr. Julian P. Boyd, editor of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, for much helpful information.

1. Fiske Kimball, "The Life Portraits of Jefferson and their Replicas," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 88 (1944): 523; Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), p. 93 & pl. 37: *Maryland History Notes*, 11 (November, 1953); Alfred L. Bush, *The Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, 1962), pp. 46–48.

the editors of The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Edward C. Carter II and his assistant, Charles E. Brownell, who asked me to study the drawing. Their doubts of the attribution to Latrobe were well founded. It is not Latrobe's work. But who did it?

The drawing is in pencil, the size of a large miniature, on white woven paper without watermark, measuring 13 × 10.5 cm. (5⅛ × 4⅛ inches). As a revelation of an alert, electric intelligence, it is remarkable. It is, in fact, one of the great life portraits of Jefferson and must represent him at one of the high, felicitous moments of his career. In reproduction it has always appeared too black: it is, in reality, of silvery delicacy. The style is atmospheric, the touch light and subtle: in every respect, a drawing by a highly trained professional hand. The small size, high quality, atmospheric style, the use of pencil for a preliminary study from life, are characteristic of only one artist known to have painted Jefferson—John Trumbull. This drawing takes its place among the remarkably vivid pencil studies in miniature, made by Trumbull in preparation for the portraits in his historical paintings. The pencil drawing of *Major Winthrop Sargent*, recently acquired by the National Portrait Gallery, Washington (Fig. 2) will serve to represent the type. The *Jefferson* is a little larger and more finished than the other pencil studies I have seen; but that is understandable if it is, as I believe, the earliest, and was done under circumstances of special interest.

The attribution to Trumbull immediately raises a question of date. A general resemblance between the pose of the head and Rembrandt Peale's full-face portrait of 1800 led Kimball to place the drawing in the period of Jefferson's presidency. Bush pointed out that Latrobe and Jefferson were frequently in each other's company in Philadelphia during the winters of 1798–99 and 1799–1800, and he preferred a date around 1799. But Trumbull left America in 1794 for London to serve as secretary to Jay's mission; he remained in London until 1804. He then returned to America and set up as a portrait painter in New York, 1804–1808. There is no record that he saw Jefferson during the years of Jefferson's presidency. The political divisions of the 1790s had estranged the two men. In 1807 Trumbull wrote a severe attack in a newspaper on Jefferson's plan for defending American harbors by building gunboats; the artist believed the piece killed support for that scheme in Congress.[2]

There was a time, however, when the two men were much together and on the best of terms. In March 1786 Jefferson came over to London from his post as minister to France to work with John Adams on some diplomatic problems of the Confederation. In London he met for the first time the young artist from Connecticut. Jefferson was so impressed by his talent and so interested by his design of painting the history of the War for Independence that an invitation was extended to visit Jefferson in Paris. In the following August, 1786, Trumbull arrived at Paris to stay for a month as Jefferson's guest.[3] He brought with him the

2. *Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull*, ed. Theodore Sizer (New Haven, 1953), pp. 241–46. (Hereafter cited as *Autobiography*.)

3. Jefferson mentions his arrival in a letter to Franklin, August 14, 1786; and his departure "three days ago" in a letter, September 13, to William Stephens Smith, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton, 1950—), 10:248, 363.

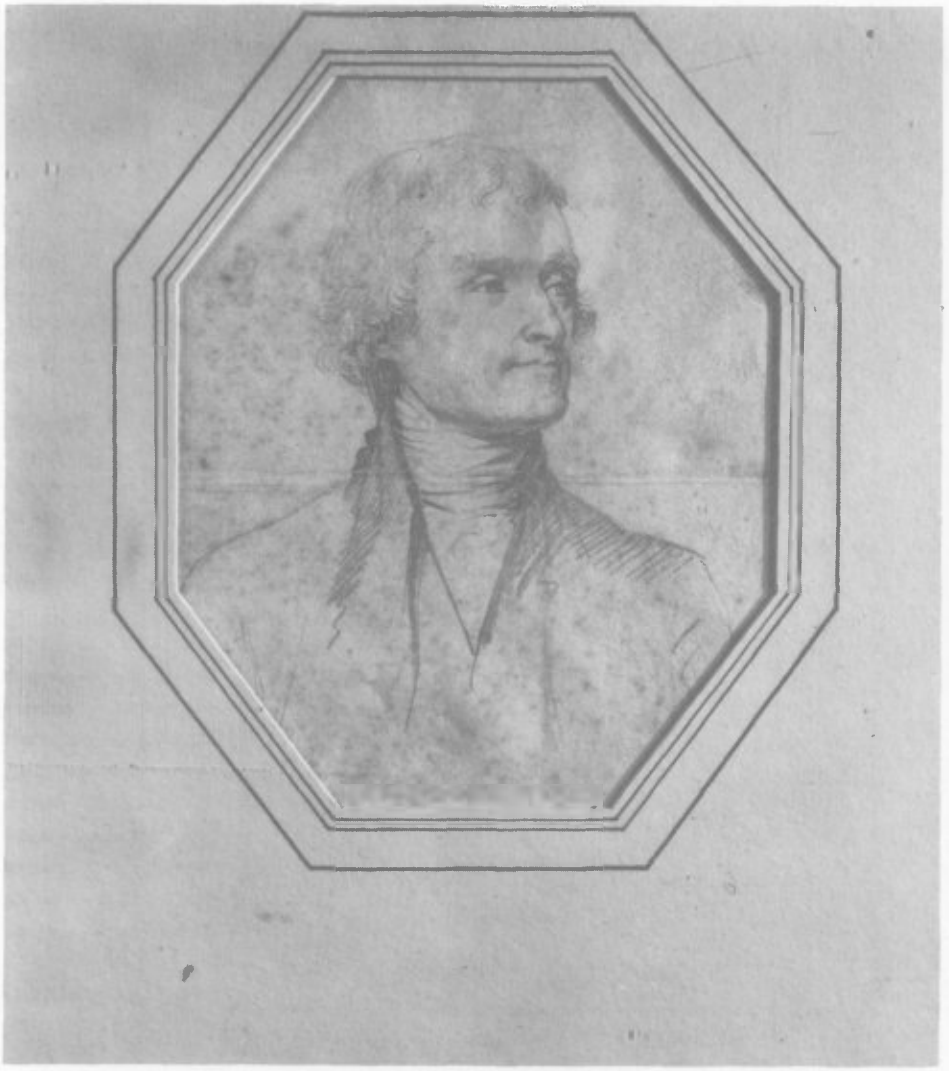

Figure 1. *John Trumbull:* Thomas Jefferson (1786). *Pencil sketch, 4 1/16 × 3 7/8 inches. The Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.*

first two studies (now at Yale) for his history of the war, *The Battle of Bunker's Hill* and *The Death of Montgomery before Quebec*. Jefferson wrote of these to Ezra Stiles that they were "the admiration of the Connoisseurs. His natural talents for this art seem almost unparalleled."[4] Two ladies were also visitors from London, Maria Cosway and Angelica Schuyler Church, daughter of General

4. Jefferson to Stiles, Sept. 1, 1786, in *ibid*, 10:317.

Figure 2. *John Trumbull:* Major Winthrop Sargent (1790). *Pencil sketch,* 4 1/16 × 2 5/16 *inches. National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D. C.*

Philip Schuyler. The two, together with Jefferson and Trumbull, formed a gay little circle, exploring Paris in the pleasant summer weather and enjoying each other's company; the visit was to remain a bright spot in their recollections. Trumbull left Paris on September 9 to tour the lower Rhine and the Low

Countries, returning to London in November, "my brain half turned by the attention which had been paid to my paintings in Paris, and by the multitude of fine things which I had seen."[5]

There is significant evidence that Jefferson and Trumbull discussed at this moment the next painting, in which Jefferson was to play a leading role. Commonly called *The Declaration of Independence*, it actually represents the committee appointed to draft the Declaration in the act of presenting their draft to the consideration of the Congress. On a single sheet of paper Jefferson sketched in ink his recollection of the floor plan of the room where the Congress sat, and Trumbull sketched in pencil his first idea for the composition.[6] (Fig. 3) He visualized the committee as standing in the center of the room, looking toward the presiding officer, John Hancock, who is seated at a distance from them behind a table at the right. This would seem the natural moment for Trumbull to have made the drawing of Jefferson: the pose of the head and direction of the glance are appropriate to the committee's position and the direction of their attention, as Trumbull first imagined the group.

Trumbull worked on this composition after returning to London. "I resumed my labors," he says, "arranged carefully the composition for the Declaration of Independence, and prepared it for receiving the portraits, as I might meet with the distinguished men, who were present at that illustrious scene."[7] There are two further studies for the composition in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in which he experimented with the perspective of the room, and redrew its plan.[8] Sizer records other studies that have disappeared.

The picture that emerged (Fig. 4) shows significant changes from the first idea. Trumbull moved the committee nearer the front and made them face more toward the right. They now stand close to the presiding officer's table and Jefferson has been given an action to perform: he lays the committee's draft of the Declaration on the table before John Hancock (Fig. 5). The position of Jefferson's head and body in the Baltimore drawing was no longer suitable. When, therefore, in late December 1787, Trumbull returned to Paris, staying until March 1788, he took with him the *Declaration;* and, as he tells us in the *Autobiography*, painted Jefferson from life directly upon the canvas, in a new position.

This is my hypothesis. If I am correct, the Baltimore drawing represents a

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5. *Autobiography*, p. 146.
6. *The Works of Colonel John Trumbull. Revised Edition*, ed. Theodore Sizer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 6, fig. 51. (Hereafter cited as *Works of Trumbull.*) In passing, one may notice that Jefferson's memory failed him, for he indicated two entrance doors in the west wall. Recent restoration of the room by the National Park Service makes clear that there was never more than the one central door. Years after Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia called this to Trumbull's attention, and in the final version of the subject (Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford), there is only one central door.
7. *Autobiography*, p. 146.
8. In one of these (Bd 475/T 771.1) Trumbull redrew the plan of the room more carefully; and, in a second drawing in pencil and pen, experimented with a different perspective of the room, placing the vanishing point close to the left margin. In the second (Bd 745/T 771.3 recto) he redrew the perspective of the room, putting the vanishing point just off center to the left. This is the perspective used in the sketch in oils.

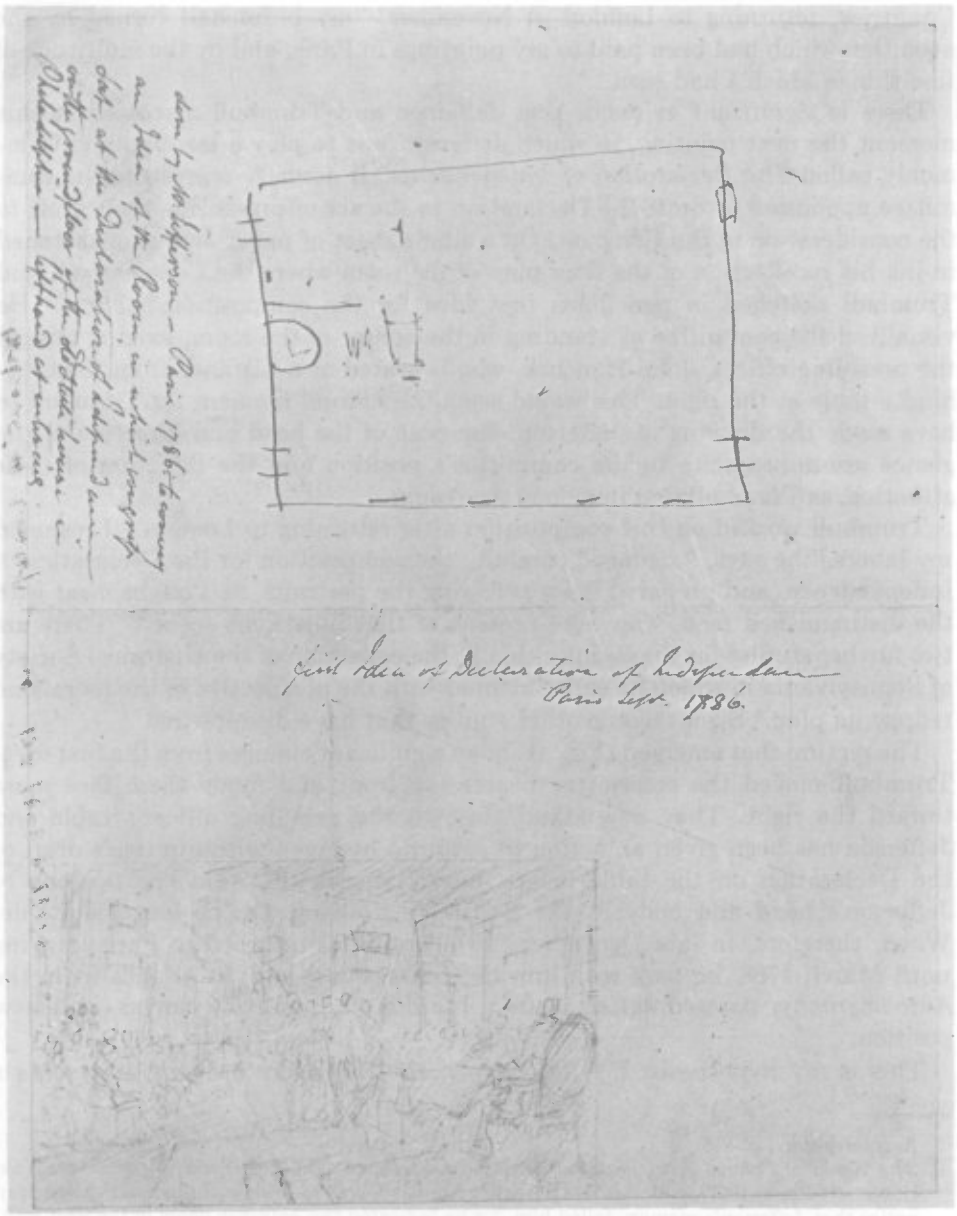

Figure 3. *John Trumbull* and *Thomas Jefferson:* First idea of Declaration of Independence, Paris, Sept. 1786. *Pen and pencil,* 6 15/16 × 9 1/16 *inches. Yale University Art Gallery. Gift of Mr. Ernest A. Bigelow.*

happy conjunction of artist and sitter. It shows Jefferson in a moment of great happiness, enjoying the stimulating atmosphere of Paris and surrounded by congenial friends, as seen by a young artist also in the springtime of his career. During that visit to Paris Trumbull painted a number of miniature portraits for

Figure 4. *John Trumbull: The Declaration of Independence*, July 4, 1776. (1786—before 1797). *Oil on canvas*, 21 ⅛ × 31 ⅛ *inches. Yale University Art Gallery, Trumbull Collection.*

two other pictures, *The Sortie from Gibraltar* and the *Surrender of Cornwallis*. He says of these, "I regard these as the best of my small portraits; they were painted from life, in Mr. Jefferson's house."[9] His pride was just. He was at the peak of his powers as an artist and as an interpreter of character—a fact equally evident in the drawing of Jefferson (Fig. 1) and in the heads of the committee members in the oil sketch (Fig. 5).

Trumbull and Jefferson returned to America in the autumn of 1789 by different ships, the Virginian to Norfolk, the artist to New York. Their lives diverged; after the 1790s they were estranged; and there is no evidence that they met again. Latrobe and Trumbull, however, were closely associated from 1815 to 1817, when one was the architect in charge of rebuilding the Capitol after the destruction of 1814, and the other engaged to paint the large historical canvases in the Rotunda. Their correspondence shows that they were eager to be on good terms with each other; Trumbull secured Latrobe's election as an honorary member of the American Academy of Fine Arts, of which the artist had just become president. Trumbull, moreover, had occasion then to dig out his old drawing of Jefferson, who was to appear twice in the Capitol decorations. For the *Declaration of Independence* he could use his oil sketch of thirty years before. In a new composition showing *Washington resigning his Commission* (the last, weakest and least familiar of Trumbull's historical pictures), he represented Jefferson

9. *Autobiography*, p. 152.

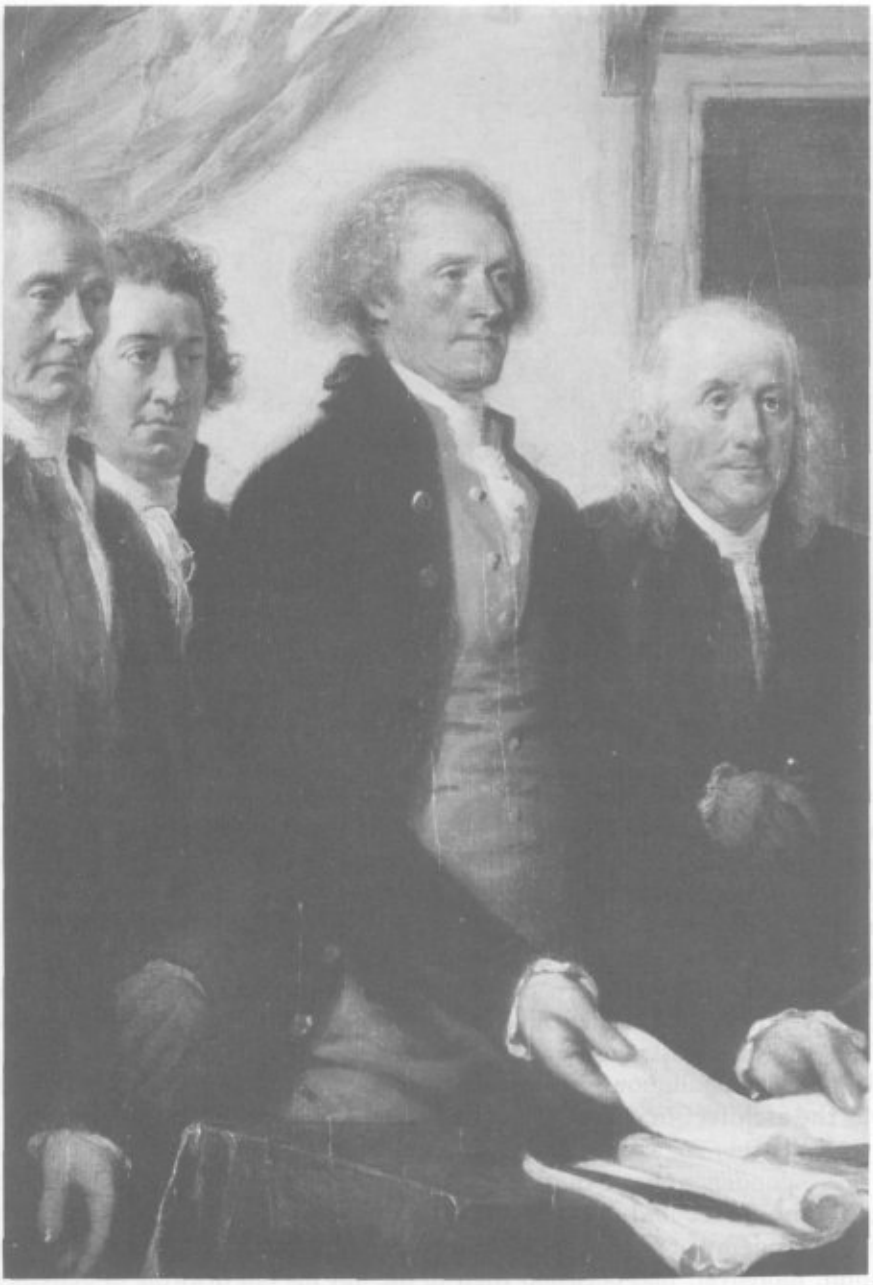

Figure 5. *John Trumbull:* Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin (detail of Fig. 4).

seated in the background among a crowd of congressmen.[10] The pose of the head is similar to the drawing, but all the fire and enthusiasm are gone: it might represent anyone. The study for this painting engaged Trumbull from about 1816 to 1822.[11]

Both Latrobe and Trumbull had known Jefferson, had worked with him, and had memories of their association. There was certainly opportunity at this time for the drawing to have passed from one to the other, although no proof exists. If, then, my hypothesis is correct, it accounts for a life drawing of Jefferson by Trumbull among the Latrobe papers. It is Trumbull's study from life of Jefferson, sparkling with life, intelligence, and pleasure. It has the double value of a document for the appearance of the author of the Declaration of Independence and the vivid life of a testimony of friendship.

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10. *Works of Trumbull*, p. 102, figs. 205, 206, 207.
11. *Works of Trumbull*, p. 102.

The Battle of the Ice Mound, February 7, 1815

ROBERT G. STEWART

In the last days of the War of 1812 a little-known escapade between British and Americans took place in Dorchester County, Maryland. Because of the bravado of the Americans involved, Congress recognized the episode and awarded prize monies to the participants. The original documents describing the event survive in the National Archives in Washington and in the British Admiralty Records, but the complete story has never been pieced together before, which is the purpose of this essay.

After the war was declared on June 18, 1812, the Maryland citizenry did not become alarmed until the British blockaded the Chesapeake and Delaware bays in the spring of 1813. In addition to capturing Maryland ships, the British sent landing parties to capture livestock and confiscate crops and, in some cases, to burn houses. *Niles' Weekly Register* quoted the following from the British Naval Register: "The winds and seas are Britain's wide domains, And not a sail but by PERMISSION spread," and sarcastically reprinted the following excerpt from Governor Gates's address to the legislature of Massachusetts: "It is owing to the forbearance and clemency of the British government, that we are permitted to have a ship on the ocean."[1]

The citizens of Maryland, more accessible than other states to British naval vessels because of the bay and rivers, formed militia companies to defend their property. One such citizen was Joseph Fookes Stewart, born March 25, 1778, at "Ashburn," his family's home plantation south of Cambridge, Maryland, the son of John Trevillian Stewart and his second wife, Elizabeth Fookes.[2] In addition to being a slave-owning planter, Joseph Stewart operated a shipyard, so the British raids must have been especially bothersome to him. On April 17, 1814, he enrolled as a private in Captain Thomas Woolford's detachment of Maryland's 48th Regiment of Militia of Dorchester County.[3]

Mr. Robert G. Stewart is Curator of the National Portrait Gallery, Washington.

1. *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 15, 1815.

2. Joseph Stewart's birth date is March 25, 1778, from the family bible record cited in Nellie Marshall, *Bible Records of Dorchester County* (Cambridge, Md., 1971). His tombstone at Madison (Tobaccostick) gives it as March 25, 1779. His obituary in the *Somerset Herald* of August 20, 1839, reads "Died at his reseidence on Tobaccostick in Dorchester Co. 4 August 1839 Joseph Stewart aet. about 60 years." His middle name Fookes is recorded in a deed of gift of "Fookes Regulation," a 363-acre plantation given on October 28, 1791, by Ezekiel Vickers to Joseph's mother and her second husband, William Skinner, Joseph, his full brother Levin Stewart, and Joseph's half brothers James and Zachariah Skinner (Land Records, Dorchester County, Liber A.D. folio 391, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland).

3. Although called "Captain" on the plaque marking the cannon captured from the *Dauntless* and in Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925) p. 255, the title must

Some six months later, on October 30, 1814, the H.M.S. *Dauntless* arrived in the Chesapeake Bay from Halifax. According to the log book of its master, James Pearce, during its stay in the Chesapeake the *Dauntless* was principally engaged in capturing American ships as prizes and in victualing other British ships in the Chesapeake.[4] In addition it received "71 black refugees" whom it sent to Bermuda. On board this British ship of war was Matthew Phibbs, who had entered the British Navy in 1804 and, after serving tours of duty in the English Channel and the Mediterranean, was stationed in the East Indies from 1807 to 1813. In 1813 he was serving on the Thames until he was sent to the American theater in February 1814; he came aboard the *Dauntless* on October 7, 1814, with a temporary promotion from midshipman to lieutenant by order of Sir A. Cochrane.[5]

Phibbs was in charge of the longboat and the jolly boat which were dispatched to capture Maryland ships as prizes. The log of the *Dauntless* records that Phibbs and his men captured the following vessels in January of 1815: January 6, the *Caroline of Oxford*, 50 tons, with a cargo of stone, bottles, and 200 gallons of beer (the beer was served to the crew a pint a day); January 7, the *Charles* of Baltimore, 60 tons, which was burned; January 21, unnamed deserted schooner, was burned; January 23, the *Nimrod* of Baltimore, with a cargo of herrings and limestone, which was sent to Tangier Island with the longboat; January 26, two fine schooners and a sloop with fourteen casks of whiskey on the sloop.

The *Dauntless* was anchored off James's Island, Dorchester County, on February 6, 1815, when the logbook records: "Saw three schooners in the Little Choptank, at dark sent longboat and jolly boat into the Choptank." On the following day it continues, "at day light saw ourselves surrounded with ice and by 7 o'clock the ship was fast. . . . Noon fine hard weather saw nothing of our boats." At 8:00 P.M. Pearce noted, "fresh breezes with severe frost the boats not having returned fear they are frozen in."[6]

Unknown to Master Pearce, dramatic events were taking place on shore that are best described in Joseph Stewart's own words. His eyewitness account[7] depicts the action:

> On Sunday Evening, the fifth day of February 1815, a British Schooner [as it afterwards appeared, a tender to the British ship, *Dauntless*] came in near to James's Island, and, in the night, sent a barge on shore and took off from Moses Gaohagan's

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be courtesy only. He is referred to as a private by Henry Haskins (see text) and according to an original Muster Roll of the 48th Regiment in Dorchester surviving in the National Archives (Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's office, P.I. 17, Entry 55), he is listed as follows: "Joseph Stewart, Private, Captain Thomas Woolford's Detachment from April 17, 1814 to February 9, 1815." His younger brother, Levin Stewart, had been appointed lieutenant in the same regiment on June 21, 1813.

4. ADM 52/3902. Information from the Admiralty Records of the British Royal Navy has been supplied by W. E. May, former deputy director of the British National Maritime Museum, and are referred to as ADM with their catalogue number.

5. ADM 9/13, Report of Officers' services: Matthew Phibbs.

6. ADM 52/3902

7. National Archives Record Group 233, Records of the House of Representatives: Committee on Naval Affairs. 14th Congress—petition file. MSS petition of Joseph Stewart on behalf of himself and others of Dorchester County. Permission for publication has kindly been granted by W. Pat Jennings, Clerk, U.S. House of Representatives.

[Geoghegan] farm seven sheep, and on their departure signified that they should come again the next day. On Monday morning the Schooner returned to the Ship, and in the evening came in again towards the Island. Notice was given to Col. Jones, of the Militia, who ordered some men to meet at different places to be in readiness to march for James's Island, in the meantime directions were sent to Joseph Stewart to deliver out cartridges from a quantity which had been placed in his possession; Joseph Stewart at once set off for James's Point, with the cartridges intended to be distributed, and on his arrival there, he found a collection of about twenty persons, (consisting of men and boys, and a few black persons). The said Joseph Stewart with the persons he found at the end of the Point and others who afterwards collected there, remained to watch the movements of the Enemy till about 9 Oc'K at night. About dusk, a barge came off from the Schooner, but was apparently prevented by the *ice* from getting near the Shore. They rowed round the edge of the ice, and after firing one or two muskets, which seemed intended as signals to the Tender, they got off and returned to her. The party of Citizens on Shore then went off to different houses in the neighborhood, but most of them to Levin Saunders' about a mile from the Point. A watch, however, was kept by some of them during the night. On Tuesday morning, about sunrise, information was received that the Tender was just within the mouth of Little Choptank and that a cake of ice had drifted against her and was forcing her against the ice, which was attached to the Shore. It was, however, concluded by most of the persons assembled at Saunder's that there was but little chance of taking the Schooner without cannon and it was determined to send for one, immediatly, to Cambridge. Upon this, a number of persons, then collected, went to their respective homes; but Joseph Stewart and others concluded to go down to the Point and see what might be done immediatly. They hastened to the Point and found the Tender, as above described, afloat between the body of ice attached to the shore and the Cake which had drifted in from the Bay, and at about four hundred yards distant from the Shore. They descried, too, a *mound* of ice, which had been formed at about one hundred and fifty yards from the Tender by means of loose cakes floating into the mouth of the River and accumulated by the force of the tide in such a manner as to present a good breastwork from whence the Tender might be attacked, if the party should be able to make their way to it over the ice. The ice having been thawed and broken in different places and afterwards joined together, to effect a passage to the descried spot, it was necessary to jump from one of the hard cakes to another to avoid the thinner parts, which were unsafe to step upon. Upon the proposal of Joseph Stewart and led on by him, the persons whose names are annexed below, made their way to the Ice Mound, and there commenced a fire upon the Tender. Just as they arrived the British had got their anchor on the bow and loosened their sails for the purpose of getting off. At the time of the first fire on the Tender there appeared but three men on deck, one of whom was shot through the neck and fell, and the other two ran below. A fire of muskets was then commenced by the Enemy from the Hold of the Tender, and was kept up by the party at the mound of ice, who cautiously watched for the appearance of any of the Enemy above the Hold, but frequently firing at the tender and at a piece of Canvas strung along the quarter rail behind which it was apprehended some of the Enemy might be screened. After an engagement kept up, in this manner for about two hours, suddenly the whole party of the Enemy appeared upon deck and cryed out for Quarter, waiving their handkerchiefs. Upon this Joseph Stewart and his party immediatly mounted their breast-work of Ice, and the said Stewart com-

manded the[m] to come off *without their arms*, in their barge, which they did through an opening in the Ice, and they were received into custody as Prisoners, upon the Ice, and were immediatly marched ashore.

It appeared that the Enemy had on board a twelve pound carronade, a swivel, seventeen muskets, and six pistols, with a considerable supply of powder and balls, and numbered officers and men nineteen male persons, a negro woman being also found on board.

After the surrender of the Enemy, a number of other persons came upon the Ice and mingled in the crowd, which makes it difficult to give a more precise and accurate statement of the names of those who were in the engagement, than that annexed.

A List of persons engaged with the British Tender, on the 7th of February 1815, at the *Ice-Mound*, near James's Island, Dorchester County, as far as they are at present ascertained or recollected.

Joseph Stewart
Moses Navy
William Geohagan
John Bell
Moses Geohagan
Robert Travers
Henry Travers
Samuel Travers
Matthias Travers
Hicks North
_____ Dove
Thomas Tolly
Joseph Cater
_____ Hooper
John Willoughby
James Hooper
_____ Roberts
John Tolly
Moses Simmonds
a blackman named_____

Joseph Stewart
13 Feby 1815

On February 10, 1815, before he wrote his account of the event, Joseph Stewart turned his prisoners over to Henry Haskins, Deputy Marshall for Dorchester County. Haskins's report also survives in the National Archieves[8]:

I do hereby certify and make known that on Friday, the 10th February 1815, Mr. Joseph Stewart, a private in the Militia of Dorchester County, delivered to me the following Brittish Prisoners, captured by him and a small party of Citizens, residing on and near James's Island on board a Tender to the Brittish Ship, Dauntless

Matt. Phibbs, Lieutenant and Com.[d]
James Gallaway, Midshipman

Thomas Nichols. John Strachen
James Robinson, Jacob Needham, Thomas Reevly
Isaac Johnson. James Rawlins, James Smart
Thos. Martin, W[m] Harrower, Peter Parker and W[m] Sanford
} Seamen

William Bennett, Thomas Blackhand and W[m] Kunir — Royal Marines
A Black Woman.
Abraham Travers a black man

Henry Haskins Deputy M. [torn]
For Dorchester County

8. *Ibid.*

The prisoners were sent to Easton, Talbot County, where the following[9] was written:

> This is to certify that I surrendered a Tender belonging to His Britannic Majesties Ship Dauntless also Mr. J. Gallway M[d] Thirteen Seamen Three Rl/Marines one Black Man and one Black woman with myself in all 20 in No. unto Mr. Josh. Stewart who commanded a company of Militia on James's Isle the 7th February 1815
>
> Given under My Hand in
> Easton this 12th Day of Feby 1815
> M Phibbs Lieutenant and Commander
> To Mr. J. Stewart

Joseph Stewart's account, "Battle of the Ice Mound dated from Easton Feb 19," was published in the *Maryland Gazette and Political Intelligencer* of Annapolis on Thursday, February 23, 1815 (six days after the Treaty of Ghent had been ratified by the United States).

The *Dauntless*, which had sailed to the Western Shore, did not learn of the treaty and the fate of their men until February 20, when Master Pearce's logbook[10] reads as follows:

> 4. saw a flag of truce coming down weighed and stood up after her I sent boat on board her she was from Annapolis charged with Dispatchs to Senior officers and gave news of Peace. at 7:40 came alongside a small vessel and gave us the news of our Long boat being taken with the jolly boat also on the 7th having been forced into the shore by the ice. the people all prisoners sent to Baltimore.

The *Dauntless* remained in the Chesapeake only until February 27, then she set out to sea bound for the Cape of Good Hope. In August she left there and returned to Portsmouth, England, by the end of December 1815. Yet the fate of her lost men was not yet settled. By the third article of the Treaty of Ghent, "All prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratification of this treaty. . . . "

Lieutenant Phibbs, whose commission ironically was confirmed back in England on February 9, 1815, while he was prisoner, was returned to England on the H.M.S. *Orlando*, another British ship operating in the Chesapeake at the same time as the *Dauntless*. By May 29, 1815, he was in London at the Solapran Coffee House, Charing Cross, writing letters to the Admiralty requesting his back pay.[11] His service record reports the incident as follows:

> Employed in a Schooner detached from the Squadron against the Enemy's Vessels in the Chesapeake per order from Senior Officers from Capt. Clavell 11 Dec 1814 7

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9. *Ibid.*
10. ADM 37/5543 H.M.S. Dauntless Muster Book, men marked as "prisoner 16 Feb." Note spelling variations: William Harrioner, Patrick Parker, Thomas Revely, Isaac Johnson, Robert Martin, Henry Sandford, Robert Nicoll, Hugh Gallagher, Janus Robinson, Charles Lovell, Stewart Briggs, Henry Strahan, Matthew Phibbs, James Galway, Francis Gainor, James Bennett, Thomas Blackam, Jacob Needham, Charles Smart, James Rowland black refugee from Virginia. (The Muster Book of the Orlando, ADM/5383, lists among the other names under "Prisoners late Dauntless 10 March 1815," James Rollins or Rallins, seaman, transferred to ship's books 23rd April and entered as landsman, born Calvert County [Maryland], America, age 19).
11. ADM 52/3902.

> Feb 1815 at which time was captured by the Chesapeake being frozen up and the Vessel catching fire the particulars of which with testimonials of approbation from Senior officers were laid before their lordships.[12]

Although the British Admiralty may have accepted the Chesapeake Bay as Phibbs's captor, Joseph Stewart and his followers did not. We find on the official list of prizes captured by Americans, published in *Niles' Weekly Register:*

> 1459 A tender to the British ship Dauntless, armed with a 12 pound carronade some swivels and muskets, and with 19 men commanded by a lieut. in the navy, captured by a small party of militia near St. James Island in the Chesapeake Bay.[13]

Joseph Stewart and his companions wasted no time in assuring that the prize of the tender was to be theirs. His petition was submitted to both houses of Congress on February 24, 1815, with the following statement:

> To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States; The Petition of Joseph Stewart of Dorchester County in the State of Maryland, on behalf of himself, and others, inhabitants of the county af^{d}. respectfully shewith, that on the 7th Instant your petitioner, aided by a party of militia, and other persons, who appointed themselves under his command succeeded in capturing a British Armed schooner at the mouth of little Choptank river in the said county, and in making prisoners of all the persons on board of the said vessel, the circumstances of which Enterprise are more particularly detailed and the names of the individuals engaged therein, and the prisoners taken, are set forth in the statement hereto annexed, which he requests may be considered as a part of the Petition. He prays that the right of the United States, if any, to the Captured vessel and public property on board of her, may be released to him and his Companions, and that they may be allowed the same bounty for each of the British Prisoners taken, as is by law granted to the owner of private armed vessels, for prisoners taken and brought in by them—and your Petitioners will pray etc.—Feb. 24, 1815.[14]

The petition was no doubt introduced by Charles Goldsborough (1765–1834), the Representative from Cambridge who had been born on the plantation which formed the northern boundary to Ashburn, the Stewart plantation. It was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means and by it to the Committee on Naval Affairs on April 11, 1816, and was finally enacted on April 29, 1816:

> An Act authorizing the Payment of a Sum of Money to Joseph Stewart and others. Sec. 1. "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and is hereby authorized and required to pay to Joseph Stewart and his associates of Dorchester County, in the State of Maryland, or to their legal representatives, the sum of one thousand eight hundred dollars, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, which money is paid to them for their gallantry and good conduct in capturing, during the late war, a tender belonging to the 'Dauntless,' British Ship of War, and taking eighteen prisoners, to wit: one lieutenant, one midshipman, thirteen seamen, and three marines, and as a compensation for the prisoners so taken."

12. ADM 1/3079.
13. *Niles' Weekly Register*, April 15, 1815.
14. National Archives R. G. 233, Petition of Joseph Stewart.

Sec. 2. "And be it further enacted, That any claim which the United States may have to the said captured vessel and property shall be, and the same is hereby, released to the said captors.[15]

Following the passage of this Act, controversy arose over those present at the capture. Documentation of this has not come to light in the Archives, but on February 18, 1817, Bill 65 stated:

That the money authorized to be paid to Joseph Stewart and his associates of Dorchester County, in the State of Maryland, or to their legal representatives by an Act, [approved in 1816] shall be paid to the following persons, their legal representatives or agents, viz: The said Joseph Stewart, Moses Navy, John Bell, Moses Geoghegan, Mathias Travers, Samuel Travers, Henry K. Travers, Hicks North, Thomas Tolly, Joseph Cator, John Willoby, James Hooper, Hugh Roberts, John Tolly, Moses Simmons, Robert Travers, John Simmons, Edward Simmons, William Powers, William Geoghegan (of James), William Geoghegan (of Moses), Jeremiah Spicer, Travers Spicer, Jeremiah Travers, William Dove, Thomas Woolen, Samuel Edmondson, Henry Corder, Roger Tregoe, Thomas Arnold, Samuel Creighton, Jeremiah Creighton, Benjamin Keene, Thomas LeCompte, James LeCompte, Fountain LeCompte, Elijah Tall, Charles Woodland, William Barnes, William M. Robinson, Joseph Saunders, and Daniel Wilson.[16]

While all the twenty names on the original petition remain, there are an additional twenty-two names added. As a result, when Joseph Stewart's attorney, Charles Thomson, received payment for him on December 14, 1818, the amount received was only $42.90.[17] No mention is made of the captured tender and arms. It is assumed that they were retained by Joseph Stewart and his companions. The carronade was kept in Tobaccostick (now Madison) and now has been installed as a monument. It is called the "Becky Phipps" after the captured black woman and Lieutenant Phibbs.[18] The real monument to Joseph Stewart and his comrades is the surviving historical record of their exploits.

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15. An Act authorizing payment of a sum of money to Joseph Stewart and others. 6 Stat. 156.
16. *Ibid.*, 175, 176.
17. National Archives Record Group 217, Micro Copy M-235, Roll 276.
18. The marker on the carronade, which reads as follows, is inaccurate in the extreme: "The Becky Phipps: This cannon was taken from a British tender in 1814 Lieut. Phipps and Crew of 17 men and one colored woman were taken prisoners at James Point by Capt. Joseph Stewart's Company of Militia composed of men from Taylor's Island and Tobacco Stick."

Oral History in Maryland

BETTY McKEEVER KEY

WHEN A BROCHURE WAS DESIGNED IN THE FALL OF 1974 TO INTRODUCE THE fledging Oral History Office of the Maryland Historical Society to a wider audience, the cover carried a picture of Charles Carroll speaking into a hand-held microphone. This of course was simply wishful thinking on our part. We do not have Carroll's voice preserved in our library, but would that we did! So often the paper records pose questions which could only be answered by an opportunity to ask a face-to-face question. Many other lost opportunities come to mind when a skilled interviewer, asking probing questions, could have elicited information that would be invaluable to later scholars. We can not change the silent past, but we can build a foundation for the historian of the future.

Historians, beginning with Herodotus and Thucydides, have always interviewed those who led, participated in, or observed at close quarters the events which became a country's history. We have today a pronounced trend to rely on impersonal records, but the value of the eyewitness account cannot be denied. While it may be a carefully measured judgment or full of partisanship and passion, this is what enlivens and invigorates written history.

Until about 1950 interviewing was done as it had always been done. What the interviewer heard was filtered through his own mind and note-taking ability, and what was saved could often be as much his as the witness to whom he spoke. Today we have an electronic tool that enables us to preserve the exact words of the interview with the added bonus of accumulating a great store of "voices" from our historic past. Often the nuances of expression tell more than the mere words suggest.

Oral history as a technique of modern historical research had its birth at Columbia University in the work of Allan Nevins, who first proposed in 1938 in the preface to *The Gateway to History* "a systematic attempt to obtain, from the lips and papers of living Americans who have led significant lives, a fuller record of their participation in the political, economic and cultural life of the last sixy years." Dr. Nevins continued to interview in the traditional way, but in 1948 an elaborate program to gather New York City history from the leaders involved was launched. It may not have flourished as it did had not the portable electronic tape recorder appeared on the scene at just about the same time. Columbia's first recorded interview was done with Judge Learned Hand on January 21, 1949, using a wire recorder. Fortunately the much more satisfactory tape soon supplanted wire and, still slowly, a new approach to interviewing for historical research was on its way. In 1973 the Oral History Research Office of Columbia

Betty McKeever Key is the director of the Society's Oral History Office.

published a catalogue of their collection, listing 2,697 interviews, 364,650 pages of transcript, and, as always, a tabulation of what current books list the collection in their bibliographies. While Columbia remains the leader, other institutions all over the country are busy, including the Maryland Historical Society.

What could prove to be either boon or burden to the community of professional historians was the new-found ease with which anyone could become an interviewer. Programs began in the universities, and were in due time inaugurated in colleges, historical societies, library systems, presidential libraries, museums, corporations, foundations, labor unions and so on and by enthusiastic individuals setting up their own areas of investigation. Books, such as Studs Terkel's three best sellers, *Division Street*, *Hard Times*, and *Working*, began to appear in which the format was dictated by excerpts from taped interviews. In fact, anyone with a tape recorder could become an "Oral Historian."

Although there is now an Oral History Association complete with a newsletter, journal and annual meetings, Maryland was rather late getting into the game. The Directory of Programs published by the Association in 1971 listed only the federal projects at the Social Security Administration and the National Library of Medicine. It is true that Mr. Gerson Eisenberg as early as 1956 was a spokesman for the "Maryland Committee on Tape Recording" whose announced goal was "to record the voices of contemporary personalities and civic events to save them for posterity." No other efforts have come to light, although there may have been someone, somewhere in Maryland taping someone's reminiscences. An Appendix of the Directory listed proposed programs and there the Maryland Historical Society could be found.

In January of 1971 the Society did open an Office of Oral History. An Oral History Committee was formed from a few interested members of the Library Committee and a professional oral historian was engaged to run the office on a one-day-a-week schedule. Together they planned the program, considering focus and finances first. All other policies must necessarily be framed by those two considerations. Funding came from independent contributions. Interviews would be done by volunteers who would be trained and scheduled by the Director of the Oral History Office.

The focus of the collection, of course, is Maryland history, and most persons interviewed have been Baltimoreans since they are more accessible and also because other programs were beginning to burgeon in other parts of the State. When possible our choice of interviewee is determined by the possibility of integrating the expected material into our present library-archival holdings, or because we judge he or she will answer new interests of researchers using our library in the future. Our choices remain broad and open.

An additional responsibility has been assumed. The Society in its oral history catalogue will maintain listings for interviews deposited in other collections throughout the state. Oral history is being done in such places as Montgomery County (by the League of Women Voters for several years and now also the Montgomery County Historical Society); Towson State College (primarily ethnic research); Catonsville Library, working on local history; the University of Maryland at both College Park and Baltimore County campuses; individuals

East-West Expressway, and small units of material on Baltimore craftsmen, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad executives, and the officers of small ethnic savings and loan companies. With support these could be added to, or new aspects of Baltimore history documented.

What happens when an individual has been asked for an interview and given his consent? Definite steps are followed and the narrator is carefully briefed on just what this project is that he has embarked upon. He and the interviewer discuss together what areas the interview or interviews will cover. They agree that material which is already in the written record in one way or another will not be put on the tape, remembering that we are trying to retrieve information which would otherwise never appear in any record. He is asked to refresh his memory from his files and personal papers, and the interviewer prepares himself through diligent research to be an intelligent, discerning, often persistent questioner. We have another division of purpose here. Some interviews are autobiographical because the narrator has lifetime reminiscences of importance to share. He may have been an important political figure, or a leader in a characteristic Maryland profession such as medicine or shipping, or a member of a craft or social group which was typical and significant, but is now disappearing. In such a case the "interview" can be many interviews, perhaps at weekly intervals with the whole story developed more or less chronologically.

In contrast, our goal may be to focus a collection of interviews on a certain subject such as the East-West Expressway. Each of several people, chosen to present as well-rounded and unbiased a report as possible, is queried about a particular political event, cultural development, organization's growth, or whatever. This would ordinarily mean a single session with each narrator, the collection then filed as a unit with a covering statement, chronology, and identifications and illustrative material.

In any event the narrator (and we could be saying interviewee, respondent, memoirist, reminiscer—any term is awkward) is urged to regard the interview as an easy, informal conversation, not a strictly stuctured formal presentation. The interviewer will interrupt very rarely, allowing the narrator to tell his own story in his own way. He will hope for long answers to short questions; working together the two of them will move through the agreed upon areas. It is a process which requires close concentration, but invariably people are surprised and delighted with the memories that come flooding back once they place themselves in an earlier period of their lives and use the memory props of pictures and records.

The next step, whenever possible, is a transcription of the tape, prepared as a verbatim copy of what is heard. Lacking that, a tape index is prepared, which is a running summary of what is discussed and something the researcher can check through quickly. When the transcript is ready, it is given to the narrator for any additions, corrections, or clarifications he may wish to make. He is always promised the right to edit out what he wishes from the interview. With that in mind, he is urged to speak frankly and openly, and to bear in mind our basic purpose—information to help the researcher of the future gain insight and ascertain facts. The Society is prepared to guarantee closure of any interview or part of an interview if the narrator feels that what he has said should not be open

such as William Braiterman who interviews Marylanders who have emigrated to Israel and Lenora Nast, whose doctoral thesis is based on taped interviews with leaders in Baltimore's ecumenical efforts of the past decade; and the Dorchester County High School, whose magazine, *Skipjack*, is a Maryland version of the *Foxfire* books. These are only random samples of what is happening today in Maryland. The Oral History Office feels an obligation to offer a researcher as full a listing as possible of what is available and where in the state it can be found. The most important interviews will be copied for our own collection when possible. In some cases the originator of the interview passes it on to the Society, knowing that our library is a safe repository where researchers are accustomed to come. Of course this central catalogue of Maryland interviews can be only as useful and complete as the cooperation of all Maryland oral historians makes it.

In April 1973 the Society sponsored a state-wide Oral History Workshop. More than seventy attended, coming from colleges, libraries, historical societies, and as individuals, the result being a valuable exchange of information and the inauguration of several new projects. Our store of people in Maryland who merit interviewing is inexhaustible; there is more to be done than all of us together can ever manage. The goal is to reach those people who are willing to regard this self-imposed responsibility of gathering primary source material as a demanding discipline for which technique can always be improved. In order to jusify the substantial expenditure of time and money, it is necessary to work together to maintain interviews of a professional caliber, and likewise handle the tapes and transcripts with care.

As the Oral History Office slowly learned what its capabilities were, its procedures followed two different paths. We have never lacked for potential interviewees and constantly receive the names of people "who really should be interviewed." For the most part we can only agree and add the names to our bulging file of "Suggested Narrators." The interviews which the office can initiate are limited by our minimal budget and the necessity of relying on unpaid interviewers, either students or adult volunteers. Even so, the collection has grown steadily. Donors to the Oral History Office should know that their gifts are used to pay for the tapes, administration of the office, and the typing of transcripts of the interviews.

A small cadre of trained interviewers (we need volunteers who are willing to be trained to do this exciting and important work) now stands ready for any interviews the office is asked to do when a contract or grant is offered. Interviews can be underwritten by interested third parties, often a son or daughter on the occasion of an important birthday or anniversary. Sometimes business associates subscribe to a set of interviews as a retirement gift, or a company will want to preserve its history by way of the recollections of its oldest executives. At present the office is working under a grant from the Maryland Arts Council, preparing a set of interviews with important Maryland artists. The Arts Council will receive tapes and transcripts of the interviews to use as agreed to by the artists; duplicates will be deposited in the Society's library. We hold at present a set of eight interviews done in the spring of 1974 with proponents and opponents of the

to use in the near future. The cause of history is better served in this way than to let old misconceptions prevail. In practice, the narrator is more likely to be concerned about his sentence construction. It comes as a shock to everyone to discover that none of us speaks in perfect grammatical form in easy conversation. This we expect, and we can usually offer reassurance. After the narrator has edited his interview he is asked to transfer ownership to the Society by a deed of gift, and he may at that time stipulate the terms of its use.

When the approved copy has been given to the Society, it is prepared for deposit in the Manuscript Division. A title page and index are made, illustrative material added, and catalog cards prepared. It will be listed in the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections at the Library of Congress and in the new Bowker Catalog of Oral History Collections. Researchers in the Society's library will be able to use the transcript when there is one, otherwise the tape index will be available. They may request the tape, but a week's notice is usually necessary. Occasionally copies of the transcripts will be requested by other libraries and this can be done in some cases.

Certain miscomprehensions can be predicted when people first become acquainted with oral history. The interviews are not done exclusively with the oldest inhabitants of any community. Naturally these people have much to offer for our purposes, and one should not delay in reaching them; however, there are many other inquiries to be made among other age groups, even young adults upon occasion. These, for instance, could be the subject-oriented cluster of interviews mentioned above.

Oral history is also not confined to those individuals who are the "names" in any community, the leaders who are already found in the news and record. Some projects do choose their narrators mainly on this basis, and of course a candid, philosophic summing up on one's career by a public servant, for instance, is always valuable. But interviews today are just as likely to be done with people who will never appear in any other record. This enables us to reach both the person who is unable to organize and record his unique story, and also the individual who knows he has had experiences which deserve to be saved for his family, at least, and has always intended to sit down and write, but still most likely never will. The tape recorder and a helpful interviewer solve his problem. In this sense, oral history helps democratize historical sources.

A third point of confusion results from the close relationship of folklore and oral history. There is no question but that there are common elements, such as the use of the tape recorder and the inquiry into recollections of local history. But from that overlap folklore moves in the direction of often unplanned contacts, constant folk themes, legend, superstition, weather signs, folk medicine, and song. Oral history travels the other way. The meeting is well-thought-out, clearly justified, and carefully prepared for by interviewer and interviewee. Accuracy in the narrator's report is constantly evaluated and inevitable slips from the historic truth are expected and if possible compensated for. The interview is offered to the researcher as one person's report, a personal viewpoint valuable as a building block in assembling a full story.

A fourth point often needs to be clarified. An oral history program is not

administered to prepare material for use on the stage, on television, or radio. Our goal is to gather what appears to us to be of permanent historical significance, for the use of students of history in this century and those to come. We hope we have predicted correctly. We hope our material will have its own validity. We prize candor above all, are prepared to protect it, and request interviews on the basis of the needs of future scholars. If serendipity is at work and certain interviews attract a producer, and if that interview has no preventive restrictions, the Society still reserves the right to judge on a case-by-case basis such use of the collection. The focus of any interview is scholarly inquiry, not entertainment.

Reviews of Recent Books

Maryland and the Empire, 1773: The Antilon-First Citizen Letters. Edited by Peter S. Onuf. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. Pp. 236. $10.00.)

The fee controversy was to Maryland what the Parson's Cause was to Virginia or the Writs of Assistance were to Massachusetts: one of those local issues contributing as much to colonial alienation from Britain as did well known imperial actions like the Stamp Act. In 1770 the tobacco inspection law came up for renewal. Since it regulated the rates at which tobacco would be converted into currency and also set the fees which various public officials could charge for their services, the law was essential to the economy and to governmental administration. A political impass resulted when the elected Lower House and the appointed Upper House (most of whose members received fees for the performance of various offices) could not agree upon a new fee schedule. Governor Robert Eden then proclaimed that the old law and fee rates would continue until a new one was enacted. The issue was of minor importance until 1773 when it became the major public controversy in the *Maryland Gazette*. Opponents of the proclamation claimed that it constituted taxation without representation.

The best known portion of that debate is an exchange of eight letters between Daniel Dulany, the younger ("Antilon") and Charles Carroll of Carrollton ("First Citizen") which is presented here as one of the "Maryland Bicentennial Studies." Peter Onuf's editing and the typography of the Johns Hopkins University Press are excellent. The only editorial complaint would be the failure to include other relevant, and unreprinted, polemics such as the "Independent Whigs'" letter of February 11, John Hammond's defense of the governor on July 29, and the final patriot onslaught by Samuel Chase, William Paca, and Thomas Johnson on September 9, 1773. They provide additional insight into "Maryland and the Empire" beyond the Dulany-Carroll argument.

Unfortunately Professor Onuf's 39-page introductory essay is not of the same quality as his editing. He attacks without sufficient documentation such recognized authorities on early American political thought as Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood as well as the analyses of the Antilon-First Citizen papers in the biographies of the participants written by Aubrey C. Land and Thomas O'Brien Hanley. Onuf postulates that the principal theoretical political argument of the era was not, as Bailyn and Wood contend, over the locus of sovereignty, but rather "to reduce—or elaborate—it to an abstraction that would no longer threaten" local autonomy (p. 6). However valid this hypothesis may be, there is very little evidence in the Dulany-Carroll philippics to confirm it. The subtlety of Onuf's argument becomes blurred in his final paragraph: "The assemblies continued to defend and guarantee local right . . . but . . . their states' . . . 'sovereignty' *never precluded the institution of a vigorous federal government*" (p. 39). All this hardly seems to connote a "sovereignless" political theory.

Throughout the introduction, Onuf seems more concerned with his thesis than with the protagonists' argumentation. Despite this, there are flashes of brilliance and insight. "Carroll's position was precarious. To cast any doubt on the efficacy and finality of the Glorious Revolution was to condone other revolutions, in other contingencies . . . Carroll's discomfort would only be allayed when . . . his choice was narrowed to 'slavery' or 'liberty' and revolution was the last hope for the latter" (p. 26). "Dulany's position also depended upon certain assumptions: the constitutional balance was immemorial; that only open, avowed, and obvious transgressions on liberty justified resistance; and that the revolution-

ary settlement of 1688 made the right to resist anachronistic. To Carroll, the constitutional process illuminated events; to Dulany the constitution was a constant in history" (p. 27).

The essays themselves often grow tedious, but contain gems of wisdom worthy of inclusion in Bartlett's quotations. Dulany wrote: "Sir, the Politician who stuns you with harangues on his own angelic purity, is as certainly an arrant imposter, as the woman who unceasingly prates of her own chastity, is no better than she should be; or the soldier who is always the hero of his own boisterous tale, is at bottom but a rank coward" (p. 47). Carroll advised his contemporaries and posterity: "Our constitution is founded on jealousy, and suspicion; its true spirit, and full vigour cannot be preserved without the most watchful care, and strictest vigilance of the representatives over the conduct of administration" (p. 127).

As others besides Dulany and Carroll contributed to the Maryland revolutionary rhetoric, so the state's Bicentennial Commission would be well advised to insure the enduring luster of the generation of 1776 with more publications in its "Documentary Editions" series of which this book is a part. Only in such a way will the scholarly world, and through them the general public, learn of their contributions. *Maryland and the Empire* makes a good beginning to a shelf of revolutionary polemics that we can only hope will be expanded.

Bowling Green State University DAVID CURTIS SKAGGS

In the Common Cause: American Response to the Coercive Acts of 1774. By David Ammerman. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974. Pp. xiv, 170. $9.75.)

Events of recent years have revealed to Professor Ammerman a new historical law: all colonial relationships are unstable, consequently the Americans eventually would have achieved an "equal station among the nations of the earth." But by what means? In his view the second class status Britain had imposed on the colonists accounted for the general dissatisfaction existing in America. But it was the imposition of the "Coercive Acts" on Massachusetts and the events of the next twelve months that were crucial to the decision for revolution. These laws more than any other during the previous decade "rang the changes on American fears and grievances. They appeared to threaten the Protestant religion, the availability of land in the West, the integrity [?] of the colonial assemblies, the right of taxation, the traditional procedures of jury trial, the civil control of the military, and the sanctity [*sic*] of colonial charters." There was "almost no complaint" voiced by the Americans in the past one hundred years the British had not managed to revive by these statutes (p. 146). Accordingly most Americans of whatever persuasion agreed that the legislation was intended as a warning, and, writes Ammerman, they had increasing reason to believe the accuracy of this evaluation. In the preceding decade the home government had established a record of retreat, but by the Coercive Acts in 1774 it encouraged, "perhaps even enticed" (p. xi), the Americans to commit themselves to a position from which there was no retreat. Its policy fanned what had been up to that point nascent, localized resistance into a full blown national movement of rebellion as evidenced in its initial stages by consensus in the Continental Congress and support for its program of economic retaliation.

Ammerman's presentation is marred by imprecision and vagueness. Impressions are created by playing with words. For example, we are told that large numbers of people (how many, 25 percent, 33 percent, a majority?) were unrepresented at the meetings of the

Congress, but at the same time that it seems "fairly certain" that "many" looked to that body for direction (pp. x–xi). The sympathy of "so large a percentage" of the colonists was wedded to the cause of resistance; moreover, an "extraordinary unanimity" was possible because Congress was the only body that could claim to speak for all. Finally "an overwhelming majority" of the colonists committed themselves to the Whig position in selecting the various committees to enforce the Continental Association. How does Ammerman know this? Not having examined all of the elections he yet describes one held in Virginia as "typical," but admits that it "is not possible to say exactly who participated" in the selection of committees throughout the provinces and that it seems "unlikely that all who gathered at these meetings voted" (pp. 101, 104, 105). Contrary to Ammerman's view, in the Georgia and Carolina backcountry, where the majority of the whites in those colonies lived, there was bitter resentment at what was termed the "profligate and abandoned Republican faction" in Massachusetts. The middle colonies were less than enthusiastic. David Hawke has shown how a skillful minority in Philadelphia manipulating the situation could give the impression of massive support.

Ammerman often quotes from contemporary documents to illustrate his thesis of massive dissatisfaction with the Coercive Acts. At several points he quotes the Philadelphian Thomas Wharton that the Quebec Act was considered by colonists from one end of the continent to the other as the greatest departure ever from the English constitution. But how was Wharton with his limited sources in Philadelphia to know that this was the case? And in evaluating Wharton's reaction it is not his conservatism or his later loyalism that is critical but his involvement in various land companies adversely affected by the legislation. In these letters to his brother Samuel and to Thomas Walpole, fellow speculators in London, was he simply suggesting a line of argument or providing ammunition which would later appear in the London press as "intelligence from a gentleman in America"?

Ammerman is aware that men "are notoriously prejudiced in their own cause," and that "their prejudices are usually exaggerated in documents intended for public" and, it might be added, private consumption (p. 63). Yet he fails to exercise critical judgment and proceeds to accept without question the self-serving language of the revolutionary fathers in this age of hyperbole, of violent exaggerated rhetoric. The result is a traditional account, an uncritical acceptance of propaganda which could have been written more than a century ago by George Bancroft. The research on the British side is inadequate for the printed reports on the Dartmouth papers by the Historical Manuscripts Commission are both cursory and incomplete and no substitute for the manuscripts in the William Salt Library and the Barclay family papers in Norfolk. Nor are the published correspondence of Gage and the transcripts of Colonial Office, class 5, in the Library of Congress adequate for the Secretary of State files in the Public Record Office.

British ministers did not intend to subvert traditional local government in America but to restore a balanced constitution and to check a movement in Massachusetts which had *already* declared the Bay to be a state separate from Britain. And in the critical winter of 1774–75 sensing what would be required by way of force, they were willing to negotiate. Their position was revealed in Lord North's olive branch resolution and, in more detail, in Dartmouth's ill-reported negotiations with Franklin. But their implied formula of home rule was ignored since Congress had left no room for negotiations, no alternative but resistance. Why? What were the political forces operating in America? Did the consensus Ammerman stresses amount to much? The course the delegates adopted was negative, demanding little, for they coupled a statement of constitutional principles with economic

sanctions, a technique which apparently has succeeded in the past and would again. A real achievement would have been an attempt to negotiate, or at least to help solve the problems which had faced the home government a decade before.

One cannot require an author to accept published interpretations different from his own, but he should be aware of them and the evidence on which they are based. He should take cognizance of them and indicate the reasons for his disagreement. History whatever else is a logical exercise in the critical use of relevant evidence. What we have in this book is argument *ad hominem*, an uncritical acceptance of *ex parte* propaganda, and a dismissal of evidence which runs counter to the thesis presented.

University of Nebraska, Lincoln JACK SOSIN

William H. Crawford, 1772–1834. By Chase C. Mooney. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1974. Pp. xi, 364. $15.00.)

In their discussions of William H. Crawford American historians have usually displayed considerable ambiguity, not that there was anything enigmatic about the personality of this extroverted politician, whose speech was frank to the point of bluntness and whose manner was open and hearty. This uncertainty must largely be attributed to the judgment of Crawford's contemporaries, who either damned him as an ambitious intriguer, an opportunistic and shallow politician, or praised him without qualification as a leader of high principles and a statesman of brilliant abilities tragically deprived of the presidency. There seems to have been no middle ground. The late professor Mooney's biography is an attempt to resolve this dilemma and assign Crawford his rightful place.

The task undertaken was by no means an easy one. Not only have Crawford's personal papers vanished, but he was not an energetic letter writer. Hence the direct record of his life is relatively scant. The historian must then rely primarily upon official records and the testimony of contemporaries. Unfortunately, the fullest account of Crawford by a contemporary is that made by John Quincy Adams, whose dislike of his principal rival for the presidency rendered him an obviously biased witness. This source has been used extensively by the author but with justified caution.

Professor Mooney has traced Crawford's public career in detail with a thorough scholarly canvass of all the available sources, which are extremely sparse prior to his entry into the United States Senate in 1807 at the age of thirty-five. Crawford at once became one of the half dozen prominent Republican Senators, who usually supported administration policy. He took the lead in supporting the rechartering of the Bank of the United States in 1811, an action which won him the lasting friendship of Albert Gallatin. In accordance with the practice of giving diplomatic appointments to leading Congressmen, Madison named him minister to France in 1813. He held this post for two years without any significant accomplishments, for no diplomatic advances were possible as Napoleon's power waned. On his return he was made secretary of war and in 1816 secretary of the treasury, where he remained until Monroe left office. The appointments reflected his political importance and the high estimate contemporaries placed upon his ability. In all these posts he displayed competence and a sense of patriotic dedication, but in no instance can it be said that he made an indispensable contribution, nor was there any one measure whose success depended upon his efforts. Professor Mooney made no claims for Crawford beyond this, and, indeed, it can be justly said that few of his contemporaries achieved more. Presented in this light Crawford gains in stature without any attempt to exaggerate his importance.

The central point of interest in Crawford's career remains the contest over the presidential succession in 1824, a conflict which literally began after Monroe's election in

1816. Professor Mooney devoted a substantial portion of his biography to this bitterly fought election, presenting a detailed account of the rivalries, the maneuvering for the caucus nomination, the rage of Crawford's supporters over Monroe's neutrality, and the impact of Crawford's illness. Historians will find this scholarly account, the fullest yet to be written, most valuable. The only shortcoming in this section was the author's failure to give a firmer account of Crawford's connection with the so-called radicals. These Mooney dismissed, arguing that the term was too loosely used to permit an identification with Crawford. Since this differs from both contemporary opinion and that of most historians, the relationship of this group to Crawford merited more consideration.

While this is a sympathetic study of Crawford, it is not cast in the mold of previous eulogistic biographies. The facts relevant to his career are presented, the judgments are usually restrained, and the reader has sufficient data that he may draw conclusions differing from those advanced by Professor Mooney. The great merit of this work is that it establishes the solid worth of Crawford.

Southern Illinois University HARRY AMMON

Debtors and Creditors in America. Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607–1900. By Peter J. Coleman. (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974. Pp. xiii, 303. $17.50.)

One of the critical considerations facing any historian is recognizing when the time is ripe for a general book on a significant topic. Few today are moved by the justification for a book that nothing of the sort has been written on the subject. A general study normally presupposes a solid foundation in extant monographic studies and periodical literature. Such is not the case with Professor Coleman's study of creditor rights and debtor relief in America from 1607 to 1900. It is not yet possible to write a successful general work on this important subject, as Coleman has now proven.

Coleman's admittedly "preliminary exploration" concentrates on the east coast and employs a format that is two parts overview chapters and three parts state-by-state analyses within a descriptive framework. His overviews are simple outlines that help to make the book easy to consult and turn it into something of a small treatise on his subject. On the other hand the three chapters of overviews in part one of the volume total 36 pages in length and strike a reader as simplistic and elementary. Nor do the fourteen case studies of individual colonies and states compensate for this. For example, the survey of Massachusetts from its beginnings to 1900 covers 14 pages of text. It is narrowly reliant on statutes and skips over the eighteenth century with hardly a glance. In addition, the basic story in each colony and state is so relatively comparable (at least as it is briefly treated here) that the rapid sequence of fourteen case studies numbs the reader's mind. When the author does discover significant differences in systems of bankruptcy relief, the pace of his surveys permits little analysis of why such differences exist.

Professor Coleman is the author of an admirable monograph on *The Transformation of Rhode Island, 1790–1860* (1963). Indeed his case study of Rhode Island in the current volume is the best in the book, since it goes beyond limited statutory sources to employ such things as manuscript and printed court records for economic and social analysis. One wishes that Coleman had written another monograph on a particular colony and state in the present instance. A careful and comprehensive monographic study of one state or even one region on the east coast would have been much more satisfactory. Willard Hurst and his associates in their successful series on the legal history of Wisconsin have furnished excellent working models for this kind of activity. Unlike the Hurst school, Coleman's breadth of coverage does not permit him to write the social history of debt law. The

massive number of debt cases in the ordinary civil court records of the eighteenth and nineteenth century cry out for meaningful analysis. What do they tell us about society at the time? Who was in debt and who were the creditors? What was the impact of industrialization in the nineteenth century on debtor-creditor relationships?

In deciding to write this volume Professor Coleman undertook an enormous research task at considerable risk. He must be credited for the work he has obviously done in familiarizing himself with a substantial body of material. The resulting book has utility as an introduction to a series of very important subjects, especially since secondary literature is almost non-existent on these matters.

University of Western Ontario DAVID H. FLAHERTY

Wilmington, Delaware: Portrait of an Industrial City, 1830–1910. By Carol E. Hoffecker. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, Published for the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, 1974. Pp. xvi, 187. $10.00.)

Brandywine Village: The Story of a Milling Community. By Carol E. Hoffecker. (Wilmington, Delaware: Old Brandywine Village Inc., 1974. Pp. 111. $3.75.)

Carol Hoffecker's "portrait" of Wilmington in the nineteenth century illustrates the importance of place in urban history. Case studies in the local history of urban communities can be fascinating and gratifying to modern residents, but they can also be enlightening for those interested in the broader meanings of urbanization. A good selection of photos supported by a descriptive text on Wilmington's growth give the reader a "feel" for the city as a distinct place in the urban past, whether his purpose in reading the book be parochial or broader in interest.

Ms. Hoffecker concentrates on the second of three periods in Wilmington's development. After beginning as a grain processing and distribution center, Wilmington shifted to industry between 1840 and 1900. In the twentieth century, when the local shipbuilding and railroad car industries succumbed to competition from larger corporations elsewhere, Wilmington was saved from a slow death by DuPont's decision to build its administrative headquarters there. In this third period of growth, which is dealt with briefly in an epilogue, Wilmington's economic base changed from industry to white-collar management.

This brisk, well-documented portrait of industrial Wilmington gives credit where due to the individuals—usually businessmen—whose decisions and actions promoted Wilmington's growth. From the viewpoint of local history Wilmington, like all communities, was unique. But one is struck by the fact that Wilmington was at the same time typical of many smaller American cities that experienced urban and industrial expansion in the last century. Like other cities of the East and Midwest, it encountered and solved the problems of urban government, of better lighting and street paving, of founding adequate schools, churches, and hospitals, and of organizing social services and community amusements. Wilmington's story seems familiar yet it is a comfortable familiarity that is reassuring in its implicit demonstration that our past does possess unity and continuity.

It is only when Hoffecker tries to move beyond the role of urban biographer that she falters. By hinting that this will be more than a descriptive portrait of industrial Wilmington she raises false expectations. She states in the introduction that "This book presents a corrective for, though not a replacement of, the view that urban communality was prevented by excessive individualism. It argues that in some ways community spirit and social institutions were strengthened as the processes of urbanization unfolded. . ." (p. xii). After appropriate references to the works of Sam B. Warner, Jr., David Rothman,

and Stephan Thernstrom, one begins to hope that here will be a new stimulating analysis of urban society. This hope fades, however, as description dominates each chapter and analysis remains weak. For example there is a clear account of the growth of Wilmington's churches and the activities of the various congregations, but how these church organizations and activities were affected by "excessive individualism" or were "strengthened as the processes of urbanization unfolded" is never examined. In other attempts at social analysis the proof supporting conclusions is weak or lacking altogether. She states that urbanization and industrialization produced segregation by wealth but offers no statistical evidence from the city directories or tax records to give confidence to her statement. The blacks were the largest minority group in Wilmington but the number "who rose above the status of casual laborers was minuscule." The reader is left wanting to know more about black occupational and residential patterns especially in relation to the newly arrived foreign immigrant. Many of these shortcomings in social analysis would not have been so disappointing if we had not been encouraged to expect more in the introduction.

In *Brandywine Village* we know what to expect and are not disappointed. The purpose seems to be twofold: briefly to describe the economic and social life of this milling town and to publicize the efforts of the preservation society that has successfully saved what remains of it. An exellent use of photographs and a nicely-written text, complete with full notes, bibliography, index, and a geneological chart of the principal families, make this small, handsome paperback a good buy. It is local history done with the touch of the professional.

Towson State College DEAN R. ESSLINGER

Exit: A History of Movies in Baltimore. By Robert Kirk Headley, Jr. (University Park, Md.: Published by Robert Kirk Headley, Jr., 1974. Pp. 162. $10.00.)

Exit is really a compendium of information about the history and development of Baltimore's movie houses from 1894 to the present. Structurally the work can be divided into three main sections. Section one, consisting of Chapters 1–6, treats six periods in the overall development of movie houses in Baltimore. According to the author these periods were chosen on an "ad hoc" basis, but nevertheless they do hold together very well. Although each chapter is relatively short (Chapters 1–6 total 40 pages), Mr. Headley has compiled a wealth of information on various aspects of the history of Baltimore movie theaters, e.g., methods of projection, economic factors including successes and failures, growth of unions and, most important, the development of movie-house architecture. Section 2 or Chapter 7, is the *pièce de résistance*. It is an "alphabetical, cross referenced listing of every single movie house that has ever existed in Baltimore." Each theater is covered in a paragraph giving address, date, commentary on construction, and interesting architectural and historical features.

Section 3, the appendix and illustrations, consists of an index of theaters by street plus 32 plates with over 150 black and white photos of Baltimore theaters and theater personages past and present. The work, I might add, is amply footnoted, a great asset to future movie historians when one considers the time-consuming primary research carried out by the author.

In general, *Exit* is a thoroughly entertaining and ambitious work which adds a special flavor and new historic dimension to students of Baltimore's vernacular culture.

Mr. Headley, unable to find a publisher, forged ahead and printed 400 copies at his own expense. Although offset, the work is particularly unique. The author, copying a design from the stained-glass letters over the exits at the Avalon, silkscreened each cover individually. This alone may prove the work to be a collectors item in the future.

Maryland Historical Society WALTER J. SKAYHAN

Materials for the Study of Washington: A Selected Annotated Bibliography. By Perry G. Fisher. (Washington: George Washington University, 1974. Pp. 63. $2.50.)

Perry G. Fisher's annotated bibliography, *Materials for the Study of Washington*, the initial monograph of a projected series of Washington studies sponsored by George Washington University, is indispensable to anyone interested in the history of the nation's capital. It will be especially valuable to all those who may be concerned with Washington Bicentennial activities.

The rich local history of Washington, once largely the province of gentlemen amateurs, is happily receiving the increasing attention of able, young, trained researchers. Kenneth R. Bowling has observed perceptively that a unique "sense of place long buried in most modern urban centers" which has been a characteristic of Washington has recently "merged with the interests of a sizeable group of professional historians."

Part of the fascination for historians is in the complex and inseparable mixture of Washington, explored a decade ago by Constance McLaughlin Green in her Pulitzer-prize-winning history, as both a local community and as the Federal City. "Who is there to say," George Green Shackelford has recently asked, "that Washington's history is not measurably national?"

Much credit for the professionalization of the study of Washington's history is due to Roderick S. French, director of George Washington University's Division of Experimental Programs, an organizer of annual conferences on Washington, D.C. Historical Studies, and the general editor of this new monograph series. Impetus has been given by Letitia W. Brown, Professor of American History and Civilization, who has particularly stimulated, by example and encouragement, new researches into black history, and by Wilcomb E. Washburn, director of the American Studies Program at the Smithsonian Institution.

Fisher's bibliography is both a product and a record of this new scholarly interest in Washington history. He annotates the work of some two hundred authors, past and present, which he has usefully arranged in categories: History, Memoirs and Reminiscences, General Guidebooks and Descriptive Works, Architecture, City and Regional Planning, Pictorial Essays and Histories, Government and Political Status, Sociology and Social History, and Novels. His general category of history is further subdivided, for easy reference, into works on early Washington, black Washington, Georgetown, neighborhoods, and colleges and universities.

His annotations are, in effect, succinct book reviews of several hundred works on Washington. To this he has added a critical evaluation of major collections of Washingtoniana and libraries of materials especially valuable for Washington-related research. The critical annotations are lively, informative, often piquant, and always a joy to read. As Professor French writes in his introduction: "Mr. Fisher has done more than survey an impressive array of literature. His bibliography is one of those instances in which intelligent, rigorous interpretation of the work of others becomes itself a creative contribution to scholarship."

Columbia Historical Society FRANCIS COLEMAN ROSENBERGER
Washington, D.C.

The Federal Machine: Beginnings of Bureaucracy in Jacksonian America. By Matthew A. Crenson. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1975. Pp.xii, 186. $10.00.)

The essence of the federal bureaucracy during the presidency of Andrew Jackson has long been disputed but little clarified. Some historians have emphasized the corruption and politicization of the civil service through the introduction of the Spoils System, or the idiosyncrasies of decision making characterized by the Kitchen Cabinet, while others have

maintained that rotation in office was not as extensive or corrupting as contemporary partisans believed. Matthew Crenson, a political scientist, transcends this familiar dispute by focusing on what he perceives as the major change in governmental form during Jackson's administration: a shift from a pre-bureaucratic to a bureaucratic mentality.

This is an attractive thesis. After demonstration that the highest federal bureaucrats were drawn essentially from the same socio-economic groups as their predecessors in the Jefferson and John Q. Adams administrations, Crenson suggests that this change was not the product of a new class of bureaucrats but rather was a response to external pressures. Adhering to a nostalgic view of a bureaucrat's personal responsibility, which held that a department was as virtuous as its chief administrator, the Jacksonians were confronted by a growing number of peculators and scoundrels in the public service. Faced with an increasing looseness in public morality, which Crenson believes was epitomized by the breakdown of self-regulation in the business and legal professions, the Jacksonians responded initially by following the Hamiltonian method of apppointing virtuous men to public offices. Failing that, they reluctantly introduced bureaucratic innovations to restore virtue through increasingly impersonal checks and balances. Thus, rather than characterizing the Jacksonian era by its alleged corruptions and blatant excesses, we should recognize and appreciate the subtle shift in public responsibility from the individual to a self-regulating bureaucracy.

Despite the attractiveness of this thesis, there are two areas of Crenson's work which raise questions. Like other social scientists working in history, Crenson depends too much on out-dated and biased secondary works to support his thesis. James Parton, Carl R. Fish, or Albert Somit wrote good history in their time, but their interpretations should be balanced by works published since the early 1950s. Similarly, Crenson uses Sidney Aronson's unpublished dissertation to compare three presidential bureaucracies without ever questioning whether the 127 Jacksonian bureaucrats were representative or not. Since much of his argument hinges on the behavior of state-level treasury, postal, and land-office federal administrators, it is surprising to discover little hard information on them for the Jackson period itself, much less a comparison of them over three administrations. These were the peculators, but few of them came from Aronson's sample of top administrators. In addition, Crenson supports only with general secondary works the assertion that the legal and commercial professions failed to regulate themselves, a condition which he sees as a fundamental and symbolic trend.

The use of primary materials in this book is equally vexatious. To his credit, Crenson taps the excellent postal and land-offices records at the National Archives. His sparing use of these records, however, added to an even more limited reference to State Department appointment papers and a lack of consultation of the records of the major departments in the federal government, undermines confidence in the general applicability of his bureaucratic thesis. This feeling is compounded by his aversion to other unpublished manuscript sources. Like other social scientists working in history, he relies too heavily on published correspondence collections and diaries, and he fails to consult unpublished materials for many top Jacksonian administrators and political influentials.

Taken in the context of recent institutional histories, especially the work of David J. Rothman and Gerald Grob, Crenson's thesis is another indicator that the old political and social stereotypes characterizing the period between the Revolution and the Civil War are inadequate. It is increasingly apparent that society and its institutions were strained to the breaking point long before the Industrial Revolution or the Civil War. Rather than the definitive statement on changes within the federal bureaucracy, however, this thin volume is a tantalizing suggestion of the riches of the National Archives.

University of Maryland WHITMAN H. RIDGWAY

Bibliographical Notes

UNRECORDED PRE-1831 MARYLAND PUBLICATIONS

EDGAR HEYL

In the course of examining the holdings of the library of the Maryland Historical Society, both in the Rare Book Room and the main library, forty-seven previously unrecorded Maryland publications were discovered. Primarily pamphlets, they were published between 1800 and 1830. The fact that they had not been described previously was determined by checking them against the seven standard bibliographies of Marylandia and Americana.[1] Several of the entries are items listed in some of the bibliographies, but they are included here because they correct errors in the original descriptions, or provide additional information.

The style used to describe the title page texts is a simple one. Lines set in all capital letters are given here in capital and lower case letters for each word. Those lines printed with the words in normal capital and lower case usage are reproduced the same way. All titles are set in roman type. In the few instances cited where the title text is just a caption title, the texts are included in square brackets. No attempt is made to describe the sizes of the works, to indicate the length of the type lines, the type faces, their size, or changes in type styles, nor is there any mention of borders, illustrations or decorative devices used on the title pages.

Full paginations are given for each entry, and they were checked against the signature markings wherever there were any. Indications of incompleteness are noted. Covers used on these works, primarily wrappers, are described.

1. Articles Of Association Of The Baltimore Unitarian Society For The Distribution of Books. With The Names Of The Members Of The Society. And A Catalogue of Books For 1821. Baltimore: John D. Toy, Printer, Corner of Market and Charles streets. 1821. [3], 4–12 pp. plus wrappers, the front missing.

Mr. Edgar Heyl is the Society's Consultant on Rare Books.

1. The bibliographies checked were the following. Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (New York, 1868–1936), with the aid of John E. Molnar, *Author-Title Index to Joseph Sabin's Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (Metuchen, 1974); Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints Through 1800, The Short-Title Evans* (Worcester, Barre, 1969); Roger P. Bristol, *Maryland Imprints 1801–1810* (Charlottesville, 1953); Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography, A Preliminary Checklist For 1801–1819* (New York, 1958–1963); Richard H. Shoemaker, *A Checklist of American Imprints For 1820–1829* (New York, 1964; Metuchen, 1967–1971); Gayle Cooper, *A Checklist of American Imprints For 1830* (Metuchen, 1972) and Milton Drake, *Almanacs of the United States* (New York, 1962).

2. The Baltimore Almanac, Or, Time Piece, For The Year Of Our Lord 1815. Being the 3d after Bissextile or Leap Year, and the 39th of American Independence. "Thus whether you believe or not, "An Almanac's a kind of clock." Astronomical Calculations By John Sharp. Baltimore: Printed & Sold By William Warner. [1814] [48] pp. This may be Drake 2422, but it is cited because he claimed the author of the calculations was "Joshua Sharp."

3. The Baltimore Almanac, Or, Time Piece For The Year Of Our Lord 1822. Being the second after Bissextile or Leap Year and the 46th of American Independence. "Thus whether you believe or not, "An Almanac's a kind of clock." Astronomical Calculations By John Sharp. Baltimore: Printed & Sold By William Warner. [1821] [36] pp., self wrappers.

4. The Baltimore Pocket Almanac, Memorandum-Book And Cash Journal, For The Year 1818; Principally containing (besides the Almanac, spaces for Appointments, Memorandums and a Cash-Journal) such local things as seem to be most interesting to our own citizens, and those transacting business with them. To Be Revised, Corrected And Continued Annually. Baltimore: Published By F. M. Wills, At His Blank Book Store, (Old Post Office) St. Paul's Lane. 1817. [iii], iv, [167], 168–255, [1] pp., bound in wraparound leather covers.

5. The Baltimore Repository, For the Year 1801: Containing, [2 columns of text, 17 lines each] And A Variety of other useful Matter. Baltimore: Printed for and sold by Thomas & Caldcleugh, No. 139, Market-street. [1800] [174] pp., bound in wraparound leather covers.

6. Bassett, Nathan. The Baltimore Almanac, For The Year Of Our Lord 1826. Being the second after Leap Year, and Fiftieth of American Independence until the 4th of July. By Nathan Bassett. Time Piece. "Thus whether you believe or not, "An Almanac's a kind of clock." Baltimore: Published By Bayly & Fishach, S. E. Corner of Gay and Market sts. Wm. Wooddy, Printer. [1825] [21], 22–23, [1] pp., self wrappers, lacking the last leaf.

7. The Book Of Riddles. Baltimore: Printed And Sold By W. Warner, Corner of S. Gay & Market-Streets. 1814. [3], 4–27, [3] pp. Pp. [1] and [30] are pastedowns on the plain wrappers.

8. Brady, Rev. J[ohn]. Information Respecting The Burning Of The Holy Bible, By Order Of The Revd. Mr. Edelin, Pastor Of The Roman Catholic Church, In St. Mary's County, Md. With Remarks By The Rev. J. Brady, Of St. Mary's County, Md. 1819 [2], 3–16 pp., no wrappers.

9. Bye-Laws Of Cassia Lodge, No. 45, By Charter From The Grand Lodge Of Maryland. Baltimore: Printed By G. Dobbin And Murphy, 4, Harrison-Street. 1812. [3], 4–16 pp., plus plain end papers, bound in unprinted marbled wrappers.

10. Character-Book. Rev. Mr. Barry's Academy. Palmam Qui Meruit Ferat. Baltimore: Printed By J. Robinson, 96, Market-Street. 1816 [56] pp. bound in leather, but front cover missing.

11. [Charter. An Act To Incorporate the Neptune Insurance Company. [Passed January 30, 1828.] [Annapolis (?)]. [1], 2–7, [1] pp., self wrappers.

12. [Clay, Henry]. Addresse von Heinrich Clay an das Publikum, enthaltend gewisse Beweise und Zeugnisse in Eriniederung Der gegen ihn gemachten Anflagen vom General Andrew Jackson, die letzte Praesidenten-Wahl betreffend [6 lines of text]. Baltimore. Gedruckt bey F. T. Hanzsche. No. 69, Nord-Liberty-Strasse, 1828. [2], 3–50 pp., self wrappers.

13. Constitution And By-Laws Of The Masons' And Bricklayers' Beneficial Society, Of Baltimore City And Precincts [13 lines of text]. Baltimore: Printed By Richard J. Matchett, Corner of Gay and Water-streets. 1822 [3], 4–11, [1] pp., removed from a bound volume and has no wrappers.

14. [Constitution Of Maryland. 1812 (?)]. [3], 4–22 pp., and lacks either the title page or a front wrapper.

15. Fifth Annual Report Of The Baltimore Conference Missionary Society, Auxiliary To The Missionary Society Of The Methodist Episcopal Church. Baltimore: Printed By William Wooddy, Calvert street, second door south from Market street. 1825. [3], 4–18 pp., bound in wrappers, the front printed, the rear blank.

16. The Fifth Annual Report Of The Prayer Book And Homily Society of Maryland, M.DCCC.XXIII. With The Constitution And List Of Officers, &c. "Hold fast the form of sound words."—2 Tim. 1. 31. Baltimore: Printed For The Society By William Warner, And For Sale At his Store, South East corner of Market and Gay streets. Where also may be had The Homilies In Tracts. 1823. [3], 4–12 pp., self wrappers.

17. Fourth Annual Report Of The Baltimore Conference Missionary Society, Auxiliary To The Missionary Society Of The Methodist Episcopal Church. Baltimore: William Wooddy, Printer. Calvert street, second door south from Market street. 1824. [3], 4–16 pp., bound in wrappers, both the front and rear printed.

18. Hebb, George. The Declaration Of Rights And The Constitution Of Maryland, As Adopted By The Convention, With The Several Amendments by Acts of Assembly. Prepared And Revised By George Hebb, Of The City Of Baltimore. Baltimore: Printed By William Wooddy, Calvert st. second door south from Market st. 1824. [iii], iv, [1], 6–56 pp., the covers are missing. This is

Sabin 45126 and Shoemaker 17034, but neither source indicates that there are three forms of the work which are listed here. In this edition the Preface is dated June 10, 1824.

19. Hebb, George. The Declaration Of Rights And The Constitution of Maryland, As Adopted By The Convention, With The Several Amendments by Acts of Assembly. Compared And Revised By George Hebb. Baltimore: Printed By William Wooddy, 1824. [3], 4–55, [1] pp., bound in leather. In this copy the Preface is dated July 4, 1824 and there are some textual differences.

20. Hebb, George. The Declaration Of Rights And The Constitution of Maryland, As Adopted By The Convention, With The Several Amendments by Acts of Assembly. Compared And Revised By George Hebb. Baltimore: Printed By William Wooddy, 1824. [5], 6–55, [5] pp., bound in leather. The text is the same as 19 but with the addition of new material on pages [57, 58].

21. [Kemp, James]. [Circular. To The Episcopalians of Maryland. Baltimore, 1824]. [1], 2–4 pp., no wrappers.

22. Luther, Dr. M[artin]. The Smaller Catechism, Of Dr. M. Luther. Translated From The German. Published By Order Of The General Synod Of The Evangelical Lutheran Church In The United States. Frederick, Md. Printed And Published by Charles Nagle. 1826. [5], 8–56 pp., it lacks pages [1, 2] and possibly text after page 56, and is bound in boards.

23. M'Caine, Alexander. An Appeal To The Public, From The Charges Contained In The "Reply Of The Rev. James Smith, To The Strictures Of The Rev. Alexander M'Caine," Accompanied With Remarks Upon The Government Of The Methodist Episcopal Church, By Alexander M'Caine. Baltimore: Printed By Richard J. Matchett, Corner of Gay and Water Streets. 1826. [3], 4–24 pp., bound in wrappers, the front printed, the rear blank.

24. Der Neue hoch Deutsche Americanische Calendar, Auf das Jahr Christi 1808, Welches ein Schalt-Jahr von 366 Tagen ist [5 lines of text]. Eingerichtet für Vierzig Grad Nordbreite, sonderlich für Maeryland und Pennsylvanien; jedoch in den angrenzenden Staaten ohne mertlichen Unterschied zu gebrauchen. Zum Achtzehntenmal herausgegeben. Baltimore, gedruckt und herausgegeben von Cleim und Morton, Drucker und Buchbinder, No. 12 Sued Charlesstrasse, [4 lines of text]. [1807]. [40] pp., self wrappers. This is Bristol 501, but he knew it only from an announcement in the Baltimore *American*, July 23, 1807. There are two copies in the collection, and they differ in that on the front covers the 1808 is set in different sizes and styles of type.

25. Of Prosody For The Use Of St. John's College. Annapolis—J. Green, Print. 1821. [3], 4–16 pp., self wrappers.

26. Osbourn, James. A Review Of The Base Conduct Of William Parkinson, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, In The City Of New-York; As exhibited in a work published against him last Fall, Entitled, "Imposture and Deception Detected and Exposed," In A Letter To Thomas Cottrell, Deacon Of Said Church. By James Osbourn. A Baptist Minister in the City of Baltimore [2 lines of text]. Baltimore: Published At The Request of Friends. 1820. [3], 4–39, [1] pp., no wrappers.

27. Randolph, Thomson. The Practical Teacher; Being An Easy And Rational Introduction To Arithmetic; Designed For Beginners Of Every Age And Adapted To Every Mode Of Instruction, Particularly The Monitorial. What can we reason from but what we know—Pope. By Thomson Randolph. Baltimore: Published By Armstrong & Plaskitt, No. 134, and Plaskitt & Co., No. 254, Market Street. 1830. [iii], iv–vi, [1], 8–172 pp., bound in boards.

28. Report Of The Committee On The Deficiency Of State Funds. [3], 4–19, [1] pp., self wrappers. Though without either place or date of publication stated, it is believed that this is a pre-1831 publication.

29. Report Of The Committee On The Part Of The Senate, Of The Joint Committee Of The Senate and House of Delegates of Maryland, On The Subject Of The Chancery Records. March, 1829. Printed by order of the Senate. Annapolis: Jeremiah Hughes, Printer. 1829. [3], 4–64 pp., self wrappers.

30. Robinson's Town & Country Almanac, For The Year Of Our Lord 1813. Being The First After Bissextile Or Leap Year, Calculated for the meridian of Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Containing [7 lines of text] Together With A Large Quantity And Great Variety Of Useful and Entertaining Articles. Baltimore: Printed and sold by Joseph Robinson, No. 96, Market-street. [1812] Great allowance made to those who buy to sell again. [44] pp., removed from a bound volume and has no wrappers.

31. Roszel, Stephen George. The Substance Of A Sermon Delivered In White Marsh Meeting House, Lancaster County, Virginia, On the 15th May, 1825. By Stephen George Roszel, Minister Of The Gospel In The Methodist Episcopal Church; And Published At The Request Of Several Respectable Brethren [4 lines of text]. Baltimore: Printed By Joseph Robinson, No. 2, N. Calvert-street, 1826. [iii], iv, [1], 6–35, [1] pp., self wrappers.

32. Second Annual Report Of The Baltimore Conference Missionary Society, Auxiliary To The Missionary Society Of The Methodist Episcopal Church. Baltimore: John D. Toy, Printer. Corner of Market street and St. Paul's lane. 1822. [3], 4–30, [2] pp., bound in wrappers, the front printed, the rear blank.

33. A Sermon And Charges, Delivered At The Ordination Of The Rev. Matthew L. Fullerton. Hagers-Town: Printed By William D. Bell. 1825. [second title page]

The Ministerial Trust: A Sermon, Preached September 28th, 1825, At A Meeting Of The Presbytery Of Carlisle, In Hagers-Town, Maryland, On the occasion of the Ordination And Instalment Of The Rev. Matthew Lind Fullerton. By The Rev. David Elliott, A. M. Published by request. 1825. [third title page] Charges With Introductory Observations, Delivered At Hagers-Town, 28th September, 1825. At The Ordination Of The Rev. Matthew Lind Fullerton. By The Rev. William Paxton. Published By Request. 1825. [5], 6–33, [3] pp., in plain wrappers.

34. Seventh Annual Report Of The Baltimore Conference Missionary Society, Auxiliary To The Missionary Society Of The Methodist Episcopal Church. Baltimore: Printed By John D. Toy, Corner of St. Paul and Market streets. 1827. [3], 4–24, [2], 26–27 pp., bound in wrappers, the front printed, the rear blank.

35. Sharp, John. The Washington Almanac, For The Year Of Our Lord 1818: Being the second after Bissextile or Leap Year, and the forty-second of American Independence. Calculated For The Meridian Of Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky And Tennessee. By John Sharp. Containing [6 lines of text] Together With a large quantity and great variety of Useful And Entertaining Articles. Baltimore: Published by F. Lucas, Jr. No. 138, Market-street. [1817] [24] pp., self wrappers.

36. Sharp, Joshua. The Town & Country Almanac, For The Year Of Our Lord 1822: Being the second after Bissextile, or Leap Year, and the forty-sixth of American Independence. Calculated For The Latitude and Meridian of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. By Joshua Sharp. Containing [5 lines of text] Together With Useful And Entertaining Articles On Agriculture. Baltimore: Published by Edward J. Coale, Bookseller and Stationer, No. 4, N. Calvert street. [1821] [70] pp., no wrappers.

37. Sharp, Thomas. Farmers' Almanac, For The Year Of Our Lord 1830: Being the second after Leap Year, and fifty-fourth of American Independence. Calculated for the Latitude and Meridian of Baltimore, but will serve for all the neighboring States. By Thomas Sharp. Baltimore: Published By J. N. Toy & W. R. Lucas, No. 220 Market street. J. D. Toy, Printer. [1829] [36] pp., self wrappers.

38. Sharp, Thomas. Time's Almanac, For The Year Of Our Lord 1830; Being the second after Leap Year, and fifty-fourth of American Independence. Calculated for the Latitude and Meridian of Baltimore, but will serve for all the neighboring States. By Thomas Sharp. Baltimore: Published By Plaskitt & Co. No 254 ½ Market street. J. D. Toy Printer. [1829] [48] pp., self wrappers.

39. A Short Reply, To Burk and Guy, With Some Ripe Fruit For A Friend To Truth. By A Layman Of the New Jerusalem Church [1 line of text]. Baltimore: Printed By Permission of the Author, And For The Benefit Of The Poor. [1804]

[5], 6–23, [1] pp., self wrappers. This is Bristol 306 and Shaw & Shoemaker 7266, but they knew it only from an 1804 newspaper advertisment.

40. A Short Scriptural Catechism, Intended For The Use Of The Methodist Society. Baltimore. 1826. [3], 4–28 pp., bound in plain wrappers.

41. Simeon, Charles. An Appeal To Men Of Wisdom And Candor; Or Four Discourses Preached Before The University Of Cambridge. In November 1815. By The Rev. Charles Simeon, M. A. [4 lines of text]. Baltimore, Printed By Schaeffer & Maund. 1817. [5], 6–87, [1] pp. This is Shaw & Shoemaker 42118, but the printed front wrapper is dated 1818.

42. Third Annual Report Of The Baltimore Conference Missionary Society, Auxiliary To The Missionary Society Of The Methodist Episcopal Church. Baltimore: John D. Toy, Printer, Corner of St. Paul's lane and Market street. 1823. [3], 4–27, [1] pp., bound in wrappers, the front printed, the rear blank.

43. [Thoughts On The Sabbath. Cumberland, Md. Printed by J. M. Buchanan, for the Author. 1825] [3], 4–12 pp., self wrappers. The title is on the cover and the text ends on the outside of the rear cover.

44. Time's Almanac; For The Year Of Our Lord 1829, Being the first after Leap Year, and Fifty-third of American Independence, after the 4th of July next. Containing; The rising, setting, and eclipses of the Sun and Moon; The Moon's phases and place &c. &c. &c. and a variety of useful and interesting matter. Baltimore: Published By Toy And Lucas, No. 220, Market-Street. R. J. Matchett, Printer. [1828] [14], 15–35, [1] pp., removed from a bound volume and has no wrappers.

45. [To the Honorable the General Assembly Of Maryland. The Memorial of the subscribers, Citizens thereof, Respectfully Represents: Your Memorialists are of that class of Citizens of Maryland . . .] No place of publication, [1823–1824(?)] [4] pp., text on pp. [1, 2], [3, 4] being blank.

46. To The Merchants & Bankers Of The City Of Baltimore. [1], 2–22 pp., no wrappers. No place or date of publication, but from the style it is believed to have been published between 1800 and 1830.

47. The Way To Go Straight In Future Or Thoughts On The Present State Of Things, Addressed To The People Of Maryland, By A Citizen, And Fellow Sufferer. Of all the different species of Slavery that man is doomed to endure, none is more vile than that of Freemen in a free country, we have thought to act independently, being bound down by the fetters of party to obey its will. 1821. [3], 4–17, [3] pp., no wrappers and probably issued that way.

Book Notes

Publishers and booksellers have not been loath to capitalize on the bicentennial, and the result has been an outpouring of splashy, over-priced books that no one will remember. But luckily some priceless books have been published too. Few will so please Maryland readers as does a new title from The Johns Hopkins Press, *Colonial & Historic Homes of Maryland. One Hundred Etchings by Don Swann.* Text by Don Swann, Jr. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1975. Pp xii, 212. $29.95; $35.00 after December 31, 1975) This work was privately published in two volumes in 1939, and was limited to two hundred copies. The remarkable etchings of Don Swann, combined with the histories of each house written by his son, made the book an instant classic. Consequently the decision to reprint the work in one volume, handsomely bound in buckram cloth, will be welcome to all lovers of Maryland's past. The text is the same as the original edition; the etchings are reproduced with elaborate care and precision directly from the artist's own prints. The result is a volume of startling beauty. The endpapers are a map of Maryland keyed to the illustrations. There is also an index. All in all, this is visually the most attractive book on Maryland this reader has seen during the bicentennial season.

Even more sumptuous are two books on the Revolution, both by practised scholars of the period and both making what can only be termed spectacular use of color illustrations. In the highly competitive field of bicentennial books, surely these are the two most handsome entries so far. *The World of George Washington*, by Richard M. Ketcham, (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, distributed by McGraw Hill, 1974. Pp. 280. $35.00.) is a swift-paced biography of Washington that examines both man and monument. While there is nothing really new in this popular study, it is most engagingly crafted. The 240 illustrations, 90 of which are in color, portray scenes, documents, and memorabilia that were in existence in Washington's lifetime. The design of the book is exceptional, the choice of the illustrations imaginative, and the quality of pictorial reproduction is extraordinary. Here's a coffee-table book that you're liable to take to bed with you. Almost as attractive pictorially is *The Fate of a Nation: The American Revolution Through Contemporary Eyes.* By William P. Cumming and Hugh Rankin. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975. Pp. 352. $25.00.) Cumming, an authority on American maps, and Rankin, a leading military historian of the Revolution, have combined their talents to present a fascinating story of the War for Independence told mainly through primary sources, with a minimum of supplementary narrative. There are 278 illustrations, 38 in color, and these include an unusual number of contemporary maps. Their text sweeps from the mounting tensions in the 1760s to that day in Annapolis, December 23, 1783, when General Washington resigned his commission. For those seeking quality history books for seasonal gifts—or those with gift money to spend on books—here are two items that merit your attention.

Edward Stanley: Whiggery's Tarheel 'Conqueror.' By Norman D. Brown. (University of Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1974. Pp. viii, 365. $10.00.) While historians are increasingly becoming aware of the significance of the Whig party in the decades before the Civil War, the general reader still finds the term unfamiliar. No better introduction to the politics of moderation, as the Whigs liked to characterize themselves, can be found than Brown's detailed account of North Carolinian Edward Stanly. Holder of

many potitical offices, a staunch Unionist though an apologist for slavery. Stanly was appointed by Lincoln to be the first military governor of North Carolina. Recommended for scholars of the middle period and serious general readers of history.

The American Presidents. By David C. Whitney. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1975. Pp. x, 470. $7.95.) This book consists of factual non-interpretative biographical sketches of the thirty-seven men who have been president. There are no footnotes, no bibliographies. The sketches average about 10 pages each, except that Richard M. Nixon is allowed an inordinate 35 pages. Five appendices provide information on presidential elections, vice presidents, presidential wives, control of the Congress, cabinet officials, and a brief "Constitutional Origins of the Presidency." There is an index. Any encyclopedia would supply the same information, but perhaps the one-volume format will be handy for enthusiasts of presidential trivia.

The Arts in America: The Colonial Period. By Louis B. Wright, George B. Tatum, John W. McCoubrey, and Robert C. Smith. (New York: Schocken Books, 1975. Pp. xvi, 368. $9.95.) Many will already be familiar with this useful volume which was originally published in 1966 by Scribners. It consists of four lengthy interpretative essays, "From Wilderness to Republic: 1607-1787," "Architecture," "Painting," and "The Decorating Arts," written by the respective authors listed above. All but the first essay are prolifically illustrated; indeed, the book contains a total of 273 illustrations. Following the Wright piece which sets the tone of the book, the reader is introduced to both the fine and practical arts in America. The text and pictures are unusually well integrated. For the uninitiated I can think of no better survey of the topics than this moderately-priced paperback extravaganza.

The National Road: Main Street of America. By Norris F. Schneider (Columbus: The Ohio Historical Society, 1975. Pp. iii, 40. $2.50 paper.) When ultimately completed in 1839, the National Road reached 600 miles west from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois, linking the Midwest to the sea. From the first plans for its construction in the late eighteenth century through to today's Route 40, the National Road has mirrored the growth of the American population, economy, and technology. This well-illustrated booklet, with several photos of Maryland scenes, in brief format tells the colorful story of America's "Main Street." It describes the original planning, surveying, and construction of the road, tells the political and geological obstacles overcome, and provides much nostalgic detail. A map and a two-page bibliography enhance its use.

William Howard Taft and United States Foreign Policy: The Apprenticeship Years, 1900-1908. By Ralph Eldin Minger. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975. pp. x, 241. $9.50.) Minger promises "to trace the origin and development of Taft's concept of the proper foreign policy for the United States, through a study of his role in the conduct of foreign affairs from 1900 to 1908" (pp. vii-viii). Instead he re-explores familiar ground in a series of unintegrated chapters dealing with Taft's years in the Philippines and his missions to Panama, Cuba, Japan, and China. A concluding chapter reviews the preceding material in an irritatingly repetitious manner. The information presented is not new, and the interpretations offered are equally familiar, deriving largely from standard secondary accounts. Taft's "concept" of foreign policy here emerges as a jumble of tag phrases about little brown brothers, Dollar Diplomacy, and the like. The arbitrarily added "apprenticeship" theme cannot endow this derivative and pointless book with pattern or purpose. [J. G. Van Osdell]

Maryland's Iron Industry during the Revolutionary War Era. By Michael W. Robbins. (Annapolis: Maryland Bicentennial Commission, 1973. Pp. 68.) In this report, prepared for the Maryland Bicentennial Commission, Robbins briefly reviews the history of iron-making in Maryland and takes a close look at five iron manufacturing sites with a view to their possible exploitation as tourist attractions during the coming bicentennial celebration. He was visited and provided detailed descriptions of the present condition of the old works at Principio, Gunpowder River, Nassawango, Catoctin, and Antietam, together with maps, and photographs of their remains. He also summarizes the history of the various enterprises, lists the sources for the history of each of the sites, and furnishes a more general bibliography which includes works on economic and social history as well as on iron-making. It is to be hoped that Robbins's study will result in recognition of this part of Maryland's industrial past and in the preservation and restoration of at least the most eligible of the locations. [Katherine A. Harvey]

Coal Age Empire: Pennsylvania Coal and its Utilization to 1860. By Frederick Moore Binder. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1974. Pp. 184. $5.50.) This appears to be a revision of the author's 1955 doctoral dissertation entitled "Pennsylvania Coal: An Historical Study of its Utilization to 1860." His approach to coal history in terms of the antebellum uses of this fuel is a novel one. The greater part of the text explores the changes in technology which made it possible to adopt Pennsylvania anthracite and bituminous coals for household, industrial, and transportation purposes. The remainder (about a fifth) is concerned with the expansion of markets for these coals. An appendix contains fourteen tables dealing with coal prices, the consumption of coal by various industries, a comparison of wood and coal consumption by several railroads, and coal trade statistics for a number of ports and shipping centers. In these days of energy crisis, Binder's opening chapter may evoke a feeling of regret for the passage of the coal-burning kitchen range, the parlor stove, and the hand-stoked furnace in the basement. Succeeding chapters competently discuss experiments in the manufacture of illuminating gas, the growing importance of coal in generating steam for manufacturing establishments, developments in the iron industry, and the adoption of coal as a fuel for steam vessels and locomotives. Maryland readers will be interested in the occasional mention of Cumberland coal, which began to offer serious competition to the Pennsylvania product after the Civil War. [Katherine A. Harvey]

A Selective Guide to the Historic Records of Montgomery County, Maryland. By Mary Gordon Malloy and Jane Sween. (Rockville: Montgomery County Department of Public Libraries, 1974. Pp. v, 36. $1.00.) Other than those published by the Maryland Historical Society, Maryland Hall of Records, and the Works Public Administration of the depression years, there are few specialized guides to the historic records of Maryland. This brief volume is a valuable contribution. It is not intended to be comprehensive but rather, as the title suggests, "selective," providing a starting point for the historian and genealogist. The guide lists a number of official record sources in addition to libraries and repositories outside of the county that hold pertinent records. Including a good index, this is a well-thought-out compilation; no researcher of Maryland history can overlook it. [Richard J. Cox]

Best Loved Songs of the American People. By Denes Agay (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975. Pp. 403. $14.95.) presents a panorama of music from eighteenth century ballads to modern popular songs. It contains almost 200 songs, presented in full—with verse and chorus and "easy-to-read, uncluttered arrangements for piano and guitar."

There are five chronological segments, each with an introductory description. It is a popular treatment, and for this reason it is a fine acquisition for most libaries and for many people who like to sing around a piano. It is surprising to find Francis Scott Key described as a Baltimore lawyer and remarkable that the acknowledgments do not include Lester Levy's *Grace Notes* and *Flashes of Merriment* and *Fuld's Book of World-Famous Music*. With such sources available it is a pity that the author did not use them, but nevertheless, the book is well produced and covers a wide range. [P. W. Filby]

Lewis and Clark. Historic Places Associated with Their Transcontinental Exploration (1804-1806). By Roy E. Appleman et al. *The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings*. Vol. XIII. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Interior National Park Service, 1975. Pp. 429. $8.35.) As this is the seventh work in this series to be published the volumes are obviously appearing in numerical sequence. *Lewis and Clark* like the preceding volumes combines the historical account of a major event or development in our past with a guide to historic sites associated with the subject of the book. Part One, a history of the expedition, consumes more than two-thirds of the book and is a clear if pedestrian narrative that rests on previously published editions of the journals and other records of the 1804–1806 expedition. Although separating the hundred-page guide from the narrative makes sense, the alphabetical organization of Part Two by site name and by state does not seem the most convenient format for anyone seeking to retrace some portion of the explorers' route. At any rate, the guide includes information on the location, ownership and administration, historic significance, and present appearance of over forty sites. There are many illustrations, including a few maps, documents, and sketches, and a large number of photographs and paintings. The scholarly apparatus includes citations to Part One bunched at the end of Part Two, a brief annotated list of suggested readings, and an index. [Douglas Martin]

A Delaware Indian Symposium. Edited by Herbert C. Kraft. *Anthropological Series of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission:* No. 4 (Harrisburg, 1974. pp. 160. $4.50 cloth, $3.00 paper.) The Delaware or Lenni Lenape were a large, loosely-organized group of people living along the Delaware valley from southeastern New York southward into Delaware. Although they had important dealings with encroaching Europeans from the 16th century onward, they nevertheless today are neither well known nor widely understood. Seven scholars—three anthropologists, three historians, and a linguist—took part in a symposium on the Delaware in 1972 at Seton Hall University and we are now treated to their presentations revised and conveniently collected in *A Delaware Indian Symposium*. Herbert Kraft's cogent analysis of "Indian Prehistory of New Jersey" consumes a third of the slim volume. A. G. Zimmerman discusses "European Trade Relations in the 17th and 18th Centuries," while W. A. Hunter focuses his attention on the eighteenth century Delaware diplomat, Moses Tatamy. Francis Jennings explains the Delaware position in the Covenant Chain, Ives Goddard assesses Delaware dialects, Melburn Thurman attempts to define Delaware social organization at different points in time, and C. A. Weslager compares traditional Delaware and modern name-giving practices. This is a useful and reasonably-priced volume on an important group of Native Americans. [Douglas Martin]

Genealogical Books in Print. Edited by Netti Schreiner-Yantis. (The Editor, 6818 Lois Drive, Springfield, Va. 22150. 1975. Pp. 311. $3.00.) The reviewer, a frequent user of bibliographies, has always felt a sense of frustration when a title he badly needed has only the author and date of publication—no indication as to whether it is in print, and if so,

where to buy it. Over a year ago Mrs. Schreiner-Yantis determined to produce for the public a book which fulfilled every want, and she has now published "a catalogue of in-print titles, useful and interesting to those doing genealogical research; including prices and complete ordering information for over 5000 items." Over 600 titles concern general reference; 4,000 concern the states and regions of America; and there is a further listing of family genealogies and newsletters. The titles are keyed to the vendors, so the reader has everything needed to purchase the title required. There are 1,159 vendors, and although Mrs. Schreiner-Yantis makes no claim to completeness, there will be many who will regret not being included. Her net was cast wide, and though some publishers are missing, the coverage is excellent. With an extremely clear and readable offset typewriter text, at the remarkably cheap price of $3, it is a must for all genealogists and of course for every library, even if it does not have a particularly stong genealogical section. [P. William Filby]

For over 100 years the Burke Company issued its *Landed Gentry of Great Britain*, and in 1939, realizing the great American interest in family origins, it issued an American addition, Burke's *American Families with British Ancestry*, as pages 2,529-3,022 of the 16th edition; with it were 48 pages of coats-of-arms in color. Over 50,000 names were mentioned, and not surprisingly the edition sold out quickly. The Genealogical Publishing Company, 501 St. Paul Place, Baltimore, Maryland 21202, has now reprinted this 494-page supplement, with coats-of-arms in black and white, for the low price of $25. It does not come as any surprise to find that the modernized Burke Company has turned its compilations to the American scene. Early in 1975 it issued Burke's *Presidential Families of the United States of America*. Ably edited by Hugh Montgomery-Massingberd, it has a 21-page essay on "The Presidency" by Sir Denis Brogan. Biographies are well written and the lineages are traced back to their earliest recorded ancestors, with the descendants (living and dead) of the presidents in male and female lines down to the present day, as well as many collateral lines. There is an air of authenticity throughout. This 676-page book with many illustrations can be obtained from Arco, 219 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10003 for $39.95 (unless a deluxe edition is wanted—for $190!). Highly recommended. [P. William Filby]

Notes and Queries

CORRECTION

We wish to provide the identification of the Maryland Bicentennial of the Revolution illustration in the Spring 1975 issue.

Henry Waggaman (c. 1748-1809)

By Charles Willson Peale. Collection of the Maryland Historical Society. Mr. Waggaman was a member of the Lower House in 1774, the House of Delegates in 1781 and 1785, and a member of the Maryland Convention that ratified the Constitution in 1788. He was also a Justice of the Orphans' Court of Somerset County, Maryland.

BICENTENNIAL HISTORY OF MARYLAND

Carl Bode, literary and cultural historian, biographer and poet, has agreed to write the volume, *Maryland: A Bicentennial History*, in the forthcoming Bicentennial State Histories series, *The States and the Nation*.

The fifty-one-volume series, covering every state plus the District of Columbia, is being produced by the American Association for State and Local History, through grants provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Support for the project is a major part of Endowment programs to provide good reading for the public for the Bicentennial of American Independence and to develop resources in state and local history.

Professor Bode's volume will be an interpretive essay, characterizing the people of Maryland historically and showing the relationship of their state's history, their particular experiences, their applications of democracy, and their values, to those of the nation as a whole.

Professor Bode is amply qualified for the task. During his long tenure with the Department of English at the University of Maryland, he has written and edited a score of books including poetry, biography, and widely acclaimed studies of popular culture and American literature. He is especially interested in literary rebels, ranging from Thoreau to Mencken. He is an occasional columnist for the Baltimore *Evening Sun*.

SAA ANNOUNCES MAJOR ARCHIVAL SECURITY PROGRAM

The Society of American Archivists has begun a comprehensive archival security program. Major facets of the project will be supported by a $99,690 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Ann Morgan Campbell, Executive Director of the SAA, will direct the project and Timothy G. Walch has joined the Society's Chicago staff as associate director of the program. He will assume primary responsibility for implementation of various phases of the work plan. Kathryn M. Nelson will be program assistant for the project.

The staff is now involved in a large-scale investigation of the nature and extent of the archival security problem and of possible solutions. Legal and technical experts, manuscript dealers, as well as archivists and manuscript curators, will be consulted.

The agenda for the program is as follows. A registry of missing manuscripts will be

established by spring 1976. A format will be devised within the next few months and solicitation of listings will begin by the end of this year. A special section of the *SAA Newsletter* will be devoted to security developments. Eventually, distribution of security news will be broadened to include non-member, interested parties. By fall 1976, a consultant service will make competent experts available to archival institutions to advise them in the areas of security systems, internal archival procedures, legal problems, and other aspects of archival security. The project will culminate in 1977 with the publication of an archival security manual.

For further information please write to the Associate Director, SAA Archival Security Program, Society of American Archivists, Box 8198, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, Illinois 60680.

NEW RESEARCH CENTER FORMED

The Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation established the Regional Economic History Research Center in May to lend impetus and focus to the use of the collections of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library. R. D. Williams, Library Director, will act as Interim Director; Professor Thomas C. Cochran, most recent Senior Resident Scholar, heads an Academic Advisory Board.

Other members of the advisory group include: Alfred D. Chandler, Harvard University; Louis Galambos, Johns Hopkins University; Robert E. Gallman, University of North Carolina; Thomas P. Hughes, University of Pennsylvania; Arthur M. Johnson, University of Maine, Orono; Stephen M. Salsbury, University of Delaware.

The AAB met July 14 to start the search for a full-time director of the Center and to organize a planning conference for early December. The conference is entitled "Approaches to Regional Economic Change: the Philadelphia-Baltimore Areas Since 1700." The purpose is to develop conceptual frameworks and specific research strategies for the systematic study of the area economy. Working papers will be provided by: Vincent P. Carosso, New York University; Richard A. Easterlin, University of Pennsylvania; Joseph A. Pratt, Johns Hopkins University; James H. Soltow, Michigan State University; and Stephen M. Salsbury, University of Delaware.

Financing for the conference will come from local industrial firms and foundations. Participation is by invitation only.

BICENTENNIAL PROGRAM

To commemorate the bicentennial, the College of Notre Dame of Maryland is sponsoring a major intellectual celebration of the nation's founding. The series of lectures is made possible by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Maryland Committee for the Humanities and Public Policy, and a number of civic minded corporations and individuals. Entitled *Conversations with Humanists: Philosophical Views of the Declaration of Independence*, each program will feature an eminent Visiting Scholar. Following his presentation, four Host Scholars from the Baltimore-Washington area will exchange views. Each lecture begins at 8:00 P.M., and is free. Tickets may be obtained at no cost from Reservation Chairman, Sister Ruth Miriam, College of Notre Dame, Baltimore, Md. 21210. Please enclose a self-addressed, stamped return envelope. To make inquiries, phone (301)435-0100. The schedule during 1976 is as follows:

Feb. 16: William M. E. Rachal, "The Theological Foundations of the Philosophy of James Madison."

March 9: Pauline Maier, "The Ideology of Colonial Radicals."

March 26: Peter Gay, "Philosophy of the Enlightenment in the Nineteenth Century."

April 8: Richard McKinney, "A Philosophical Paragraph: 'We Hold These Truths . . . !'"

April 28: Thomas O'Brien Hanley, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton: A European and Maryland Mentality."

May 14: William Barrett, "The Future of Democracy."

FOR CHRISTMAS

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to ladies—pins bearing the Maryland seal
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to gentlemen—tie clips, tacs, or cuff links, bearing either the Maryland seal or State flag, ties (blue or brown) bearing the Maryland seal

to either ladies or gentlemen—
a pair of large colored prints, suitable for framing, of the *Ark* and the *Dove*
a Maryland flask depicting Fells Point
a box of notepaper carrying Maryland scenes
a Society publication:
Star-Spangled Books
My Maryland
Bermuda's Antique Furniture & Silver
Maryland: A History 1632–1974
Four Generations of Commissions

to the high school or college student—
Star-Spangled Banner. Manuscript in facsimile.
View of Baltimore City. Reprint of the E. Sachse 1850 lithograph. Sepia tone.
Bird's Eye View of the City of Annapolis, Md. Reprint of the E. Sachse 1864 lithograph. Color
Carte de la Virginie et du Maryland. Reproduction of the French version of the Fry and Jefferson Map of 1755
Or any of the above-mentioned items

to children—
Indians of Early Maryland, in either hard cover or paperback (coloring book) edition
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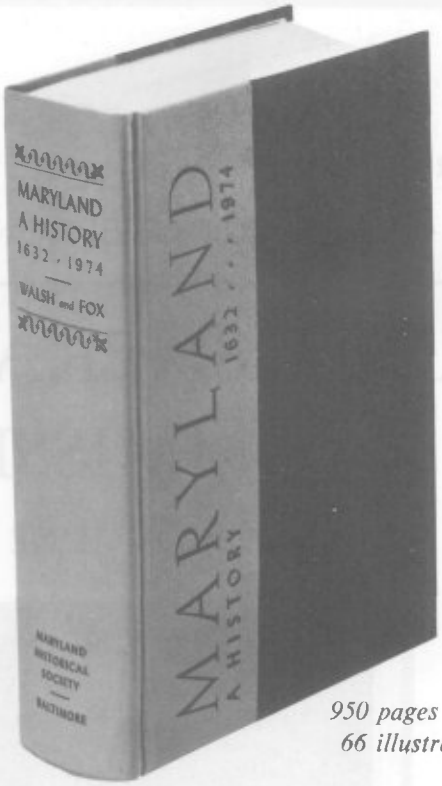

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This scholarly work on Maryland prints and printmakers, a first, contains over 300 illustrations with 32 in full color. Each print is accompanied by a carefully researched description of the subject, artist, and other pertinent information. Case bound in gold-stamped buckram, this 276 page book is A GENUINE BARGAIN.

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